A

PICTURE

OF

ENGLAND:

CONTAINING

A DESCRIPTION OF THE LAWS, CUSTOMS, AND MANNERS OF ENGLAND.

Interſperſed with curious and intereſting

ANECDOTES OF MANY EMINENT PERSONS.

Tranſlated from the Original German

OF

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FORMERLY A CAPTAIN IN THE PRUSSIAN SERVICE.

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OF

ENGLAND.

A VIEW OF THE CONSTITUTION, CHARACTER, AND MANNERS, OF THE *PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.*

CHAP. I.

GREAT BRITAIN, that queen of iſlands, is ſo different from all the other ſtates of Europe, in the form of its government, in its laws, its cuſtoms, and in the ſentiments and manners of its inhabitants, that it ſeems rather to belong to another globe than to that on which we live. The contraſt is particularly ſtriking when we paſs out of France into England. We think ourſelves then tranſported into another planet; for the paſſage is ſhort, and we are not prepared for the abruptneſs of the change by a long voyage. No place whatever is more calculated to intereſt the philoſophical obſerver, than the

iſland we are about to deſcribe, though hitherto ſo little known among us. Such at leaſt, is my opinion, and ſuch will be the opinion of every impartial perſon who has lived long enough in the country to learn the language, and to acquire the information neceſſary for forming a juſt judgment.

The Revolution, which took place about two centuries ago, in the manners, in the arts and ſciences, in the commerce, the religion, but eſpecially in the political conſtitution of England, is worthy of the greateſt admiration. Notwithſtanding the ancient privileges, which the nation had acquired with many ſtruggles; and which, in thoſe times of barbariſm, had already obtained the name of *liberty*, the Engliſh government was ſtill tyrannical. The annals of the deſpotic reign of Henry VIII. and of the cruel Mary his daughter, furniſh inconteſtible proofs of this aſſertion. But, in more proſperous days, the tranſition was rapid, from the moſt extreme oppreſſion, to the moſt unbounded liberty, civil and religious. From the boſom of this abſolute independence, have ariſen thoſe characters whoſe originality is ſo ſtriking. An Engliſhman who is rich, and in general every inhabitant of that fortunate iſland, acknowledges no other rule of conduct than the laws and his own pleaſure: if he does not tranſgreſs the former, he may

freely

freely indulge the latter. Hence thoſe innumerable whims and extravagancies, at which the people of other nations, who do not enjoy the ſame liberty, are ſo greatly aſtoniſhed, for want of knowing or inquiring into their principles, though it ſhould rather be matter of ſurpriſe that they do not multiply and increaſe. The obſervations and remarks of other people are here no reſtraint. Each conſulting only his own inclinations, deſpiſes the cenſure of thoſe from whom he has nothing to fear and nothing to hope. Here, indeed, as in other places, a ridiculous perſon is laughed at; but he meets with more indulgence, and a man of worth is not the leſs eſteemed becauſe he is ſubject to ſome prevailing caprice; for it is one of the particular characters of Britiſh extravagance, never to offend the laws of the country. I mean to ſhew in the ſequel, by remarkable examples, the influence of theſe on the national happineſs. The ſame liberty of thinking and acting ſhines in the writings of the Engliſh; and to it we are indebted for ſo many bold ſyſtems, ſo many great and uſeful truths with which their philoſophers and mathematicians have enriched humanity. Hence, that adventurous flight of genius, and thoſe new paths to ſcience diſcovered by their poets and hiſtorians, which have aggrandiſed, if we may uſe the expreſſion, the world of ideas.

This iſland has ſo many attractions, that every ſtranger who arrives in it is faſcinated, as it were, by a ſecret charm, provided he is previouſly acquainted with the language; and, in order to live commodiouſly in a country where every thing is dear, his purſe muſt be plentifully furniſhed. Then, whatever may be his taſte, his age, or way of thinking, he will find wherewithal to gratify them. This charm extends its influence to people of every condition, from the loweſt to thoſe of the higheſt rank. During the ſtay that the preſent king of Denmark made in France, every engine was ſet at work to amuſe him; new entertainments were invented, and foreſts were illuminated to give him the pleaſure of a nocturnal chace. Every bon-mot he uttered, or did not utter, made the ſubject or the burden of a new ſong. In ſhort, the nation ſtrove to metamorphoſe for him its delightful Paris into a new Elyſium. London, however, where all theſe pleaſures were wanting, where nobody, not even the common ſailor, would give him the wall in the ſtreets, pleaſed him infinitely more.

It is evident, from numerous examples, that the great of the earth, ſo haughty to their ſubjects and their equals, are not altogether diſpleaſed when circumſtances ſometimes remind them that they are men like

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the reſt of their race. A powerful prince of the Empire, upon viſiting England a few years ago, being too vain of his rank to know how to forget it occaſionally, with a good grace, found the Engliſh leſs reſpectful to him than his own ſubjects, and at firſt complained of it; but reflecting that their conduct was ſuch as he muſt have expected, he began to yield to it, and took the reſolution of diverting and amuſing himſelf with their humours: and then, though he had no greater reaſon to be pleaſed with the court than he had at firſt with the irreverence of the people, yet his abode in England became exceedingly agreeable to him.

The Engliſh themſelves are ſo well able to appretiate the value of their native country, that maleſactors, who have the leaſt hope of eſcaping from juſtice, will rather expoſe themſelves to the riſk of a criminal trial, than go abroad. Exile is in their mind a ſort of death almoſt as terrible as an untimely end; and accordingly every day ſhews unhappy wretches on the ſcaffold who might eaſily have eſcaped by flight.

As this iſland differs in ſo many reſpects from every other country, and as, according to the opinion of Monteſquieu, no people in the world enjoy a form of government ſo perfect, it muſt naturally be unknown and

miſunderſtood, even by philoſophical inquirers. Hence thoſe ill-founded doubts of the advantage of a government purely monarchical, or of a limited monarchy ſuch as the Britiſh. Let us not envy any one the chains he is content to wear; they may appear light to him, and even pleaſant by compariſon; but to attempt, by ſophiſtry, to exalt the condition of a ſubject in a monarchical ſtate above that of a Briton, would be as fooliſh as unjuſt. When we have read the aſtoniſhing actions related in the following pages, in order to illuſtrate the conſtitution, the laws, the diverſified regulations, and, in a word, all that produces the happineſs of this kingdom, perhaps we will not conſider as hyperbolical the expreſſion of that Nabob of Arcot, who preſented Colonel Smith to the victorious Soubah of the Decan: "Great "Soubah! receive my preſent; this is the "warrior with whom I offer you the friend-"ſhip of the Engliſh, who are a nation of "kings."

A certain German philoſopher gives the following excellent definition of political liberty: "I call free, ſays he, that ſtate, in which no one is obliged to make any other ſacrifice of his voluntary actions than that which is abſolutely neceſſary to the preſervation of the community; that ſtate, in which the neceſſary limitations are not made with partiality,

partiality, but with unanimous consent, and solely with the view of augmenting the sum of the general good; that state which, in the privileges it bestows on any individual, or on any rank, has regard only to the most conspicuous merit, or to the stability of the government; in a word, that state in which the greatest number of powers can be displayed and act in concert." Now I shall prove, in the course of this work, by incontestible facts, that this definition is more applicable to England than to any other country upon earth.

Notwithstanding the intestine dissentions unavoidable in a Republic *, and which even appear necessary to its existence, as they serve to feed the republican spirit, to keep it in vigour, and to give it life and activity; notwithstanding the unhappy issue of the American war; notwithstanding the enormous debt, and the wasting luxury of the nation; and, lastly, in spite of all those vices and imperfections which are the melancholy portion of the human race, the inhabitants of England enjoy a most enviable felicity; the

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* Let me be allowed this expression, though not quite classical. In common language Algiers and Tripoli are called Republics, while England, because it has a king, is considered as a monarchy. Sparta, which has always passed for a Republic, had likewise its kings.

the amount of which other nations are at a loſs to conceive; ſo difficult it is for the ſubjects, even of a mild government, to form juſt ideas of national liberty, founded ſolely on the rights of humanity.

Nothing appeared more laughable to the Engliſh, than a paſſage of the French manifeſto, publiſhed at the beginning of the laſt war, in which it was ſaid "that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty found himſelf obliged to protect the Americans, whoſe liberties and privileges had been invaded." The anſwer to that manifeſto avowed equal aſtoniſhment, that France ſhould make uſe of expreſſions which, to the ſubjects of that kingdom, muſt be unintelligible. It is an undeniable truth, that no poliſhed nation was ever ſo free as the people of England are at this day; and thoſe who are acquainted with the conſtitution of ancient and modern ſtates, will undoubtedly ſubſcribe to this opinion. We muſt pardon the patriotiſm of a Dutchman, or of a Swiſs, when he flatters himſelf with being as free as an Engliſhman. A ſhort view of Britiſh liberty will make this plain, and will facilitate the compariſon.

Without taking into the account a great number of franchiſes and immunities which the great charter and favourable circumſtances have, at different times, procured for this

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nation, we may comprehend its rights in ſix claſſes, viz.

1. The liberty of the preſs.
2. The habeas corpus act.
3. The courts of juſtice.
4. The trials by jury.
5. The repreſentations in Parliament.
6. The privilege of public remonſtrances.

1. It is with great reaſon that the Engliſh conſider the liberty of the preſs as the palladium or ſafeguard of their civil liberty. It is true, that they often abuſe it by the fooliſh paſquinades and ſcandalous libels it is made to diſſeminate; but they are richly indemnified for this inconvenience by the vaſt advantages derived from it.

The moſt ſhameleſs miniſter, who, in the cabinet, and in parliament, does not bluſh to propoſe the moſt pernicious meaſures, and who hears with indifference the moſt galling reproaches, is impeded all at once in his audacious career, by the ſingle curb of the public voice. Hitherto no Engliſh miniſter has ventured to miſunderſtand or to deſpiſe this voice. It is this which often makes bad deſigns prove abortive, and which diſconcerts the deepeſt laid plans.

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The liberty of the preſs is alſo favourable to popular convocations, which are unavoidable in a free ſtate; becauſe the public newspapers indicate the time, the place, and often the very purpoſe of ſuch aſſemblies; and in them there is diſplayed, at length, to the eyes of the nation, the advantages or ill conſequences of certain meaſures, as well as the motives of thoſe who have propoſed and ſupport them. In theſe aſſemblies the greateſt freedom of ſpeech is allowed; members of parliament, who are often preſent, ſometimes find their propoſitions better received there than in either of the Houſes. The ſtatesman, whoſe hopes have been diſappointed, and the miniſter who has been diſmiſſed, find here a free appeal, and may uſe all their credit and their influence to bring the aſſembly into their views.

Without the bleſſed liberty of the preſs, it would have been impoſſible that a ſtate, in which the king has the diſpoſal of all places and dignities, and in ſome meaſure of all the wealth of the country, could have maintained itſelf in independence to this hour. The moſt apparently inſignificant enterprize of a miniſter, when it may in its moſt remote conſequences wear the ſhadow of an attack on the national liberty, ſets the whole community in motion, the people become uneaſy, the miniſter trembles, and the project is abandoned.

doned. If leſs attention were beſtowed on ſmall things, the crown would extend its prerogative, and attain, by inſenſible degrees, the object at which it invariably aſpires, abſolute power.

In the year 1775, it was the king's pleaſure, that a certain criminal who had been condemned to death, might not be executed at the uſual place, but out of the city before the houſe in which he had committed the crime. The wiſh of his Majeſty was communicated by the ſecretary of ſtate to the ſheriffs of the county of Middleſex. In any other country it would have been thought a matter of indifference where a convict was executed; but the people of England judged otherwiſe. The ſheriffs refuſed to obey the deſire of the king. A more peremptory order had no better effect, but it produced a very humble remonſtrance, in which the moſt ſolid reaſons for the refuſal were ſtated. It was ſaid among others, that if the place of puniſhment was arbitrarily changed, it would give occaſion to abuſes, which, in the end, might undermine the fundamental laws of the kingdom. Such executions might then be made ſometimes in the town, ſometimes in the country, in one of the public ſquares, in ſuch or ſuch a ſtreet, and at laſt even in a houſe, which would in the end annihilate the practice of acting publicly on ſuch occaſions,

ſions, ſo indiſpenſible in a free ſtate. The ſheriffs perſiſted in their refuſal, and they merited the thanks of the nation for their conduct.*

2. The Habeas Corpus act ſecures the weak from the oppreſſion of the ſtrong. By this act the miniſter, the king himſelf, cannot impriſon a Britiſh ſubject, if the cauſe of his detention is not notified to him in a few days; and he muſt be brought before ſome public tribunal, and confronted with his accuſer. By this means, a perſon of the very loweſt rank is perfectly ſecure againſt the abuſe of power, even when armed with ſovereign authority. Nothing can form a more ſtriking contraſt with this act, than the famous *lettres de cachet*, of which the French miniſtry were formerly ſo prodigal. A perſon was ſure of being buried alive in the Baſtile, if he had offended the under clerk of

* The event which the author here alludes to, happened in 1769, when Doyle and Valline, two convicts, received ſentence of death at the Old Baily, which directed that they were to be hanged at *the uſual place of execution*. In the warrant from the Recorder to the Sheriffs, the latter were ordered to ſee the ſentence executed upon the convicts *at the moſt convenient place near Bethnal-Green Church*. Upon the remonſtrance of the Sheriffs, the opinion of the twelve judges was taken, who declared, "that the time and place "of execution are in law *no part* of the judgment; and "that the Recorder's warrant was a lawful authority to the "Sheriffs as to the time and place of execution." The Sheriffs ſaid their doubts were *over-ruled*, not *ſatisfied*; and the men were accordingly executed at Bethnal-Green.

of a clerk of ſome miniſter. If we may believe Linguet, this diabolical etiquette is not in diſuſe at this day. That ſingular man, during his firſt reſidence in London, tortured his imagination to decry, in his Annals, the liberty of the Engliſh. At preſent, inſtructed by the ſchool of the Baſtile, he thinks differently, and conſiders England as the moſt inviolable aſylum in the world. He publickly deplores his inconſiderate patriotiſm, and affirms, in his Journal, that his cure is now radical.

In the hiſtory of Wilkes, partly forgotten, and partly unknown in Germany, and which I will give a ſketch of in the ſequel of this work, becauſe it is important, and has been quite miſunderſtood, I ſhall have an opportunity of placing in a conſpicuous point of view the great advantages of the act in queſtion.

3. The courts of juſtice are a neceſſary appendage to a free and well-regulated ſtate. Formerly, in ancient Greece and Rome, diſputes and law-ſuits were pleaded and decided in public. It is difficult to be notoriouſly unjuſt, when a whole nation is attentive to the moſt minute circumſtance of our conduct, and ready to cenſure the leaſt word. There never was a man, except the Decemvir Appius, ſo bold as to brave a whole people, and to ſhew himſelf guilty of flagrant

injuſtice before a public tribunal. But the puniſhment of his audacity is well known.

In the proceſs againſt the Dutcheſs of Kingſton in the year 1777, a remarkable accident happened, which ſhewed in the cleareſt manner the excellence of public trials. The Dutcheſs was the widow of a Peer, and conſequently her cauſe came before the Houſe of Lords. All the Peers of England were her natural judges, under the preſidency of a Lord Steward, appointed by the King for the purpoſe, but whoſe high dignity ceaſed with the trial. The theatre of the ſcene was at Weſtminſter Hall, the ſpacious confines of which edifice were found too narrow for the multitude of ſpectators. The principal witneſs for the Dutcheſs was an old bedrid man, who could not be removed from his chamber. His evidence, however, was indiſpenſable, and without it the Dutcheſs could not prevail. She preſented, therefore, a petition to the Court, requeſting a favour unprecedented in England; which was, that a committee might be authoriſed to take the evidence of the old man in his own houſe. This appeared very reaſonable to many of the Peers preſent, and they were about to agree to it, when the matter took a new turn.

The Earl of Mansfield (one of the chief judges of England) a perſon who unites the deepeſt

deepeſt knowledge of juriſprudence, and the moſt exquiſite judgment, with the eloquence of Cicero, roſe to ſpeak in his turn; (not in quality of judge, but as a ſimple Peer, and in that place he has nothing but his ſingle voice like any other lord.) After having declared his inclination to give the Dutcheſs every poſſible means of juſtification, he painted, in the moſt ſtriking colours, the ill effects of this illegal indulgence; he ſaid that the precedent, a thing of great authority in the Engliſh Courts, would often regulate the conduct of judges, and even oblige them to yield to ſimilar requiſitions; that in every cauſe of importance, there would always be ſome witneſs indiſpoſed, whom it would be neceſſary to examine in ſecret: and how eaſily, ſaid he, may not a ſmall number of perſons, appointed by ſuch a commiſſion, be abuſed or ſeduced; nay, may not the members of that commiſſion be choſen by the party intereſted? He concluded by ſaying, that ſuch an innovation would open a door for corruption and venality; that it would aim a mortal blow at the national liberty, at the right of property, ſo ſacred in the kingdom, and that it would expoſe the life of every citizen to danger.

In order to underſtand this reaſoning, it is neceſſary to know, that in the Engliſh courts, all the judgments depend on the de-

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poſitions of witneſſes, and that a ſingle witneſs is of more importance than a volume of documents. The ſpeech of Lord Mansfield made a ſtrong impreſſion. Such of the Peers as were the moſt zealous friends of the Dutcheſs immediately deſiſted from their demand, and her moſt eloquent defenders were reduced to ſilence. A ſcene of the moſt intereſting kind to a philoſophical obſerver!

4. The verdicts of all the Engliſh courts are pronounced by twelve perſons who are ſworn, called Jurymen. Theſe are properly the judges who acquit or condemn. It is true that they are aſſiſted by one or more judges, who are appointed and paid for witneſſing and giving their ſanction to the legality of the proceedings, and for turning the attention of the jury to certain circumſtances in the proof; but they themſelves pronounce the ſentence according to the tenor of the law. However, in order to avoid the inconvenience of ſeeing a perſon brought before a judge on ſlight ſuſpicions for a pretended crime, every accuſation is previouſly examined by ſeventeen perſons, called the Grand Jury, whoſe deciſion diſmiſſes or authoriſes a proceſs. The other jurymen who paſs the ſentence muſt be unanimous; they are ſhut up in a chamber till they are agreed, while in the Grand Jury a plurality of votes is

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ſufficient to aſcertain the validity of the accuſation, and for this reaſon they conſiſt of an unequal number. If one of the jurymen die ſuddenly, the accuſed perſon is releaſed, becauſe no one can be tried more than once for the ſame crime, and becauſe the election of a new juryman would require for his information an entire reviſal of the whole proceedings.

The great impartiality which reigns in the Engliſh courts, is owing principally to the nature of the conſtitution. No miniſter, however powerful, or however wicked in other reſpects, ever took it into his head to ſet himſelf above the laws. However high his authority, and however numerous his adherents, if he attempted to oppreſs the moſt inconſiderable citizen, he would find a court ready open, and be obliged to appear before it in perſon. The man who has ſenſe to eſtimate an advantage like this, will be conſtrained to admire the adminiſtration of Engliſh juſtice, which, however, cannot be imitated but in a State equally free.

Every man in England, who for the ſpace of two years, has accepted a houſe in any pariſh, is obliged, in his turn, to take upon him, without reward, the burden of ſome office in that pariſh; and among others, to ſerve as a juryman. Foreigners, even though they

ſhould not be naturalized, are obliged to perform this duty as well as others. The twelve perſons neceſſary for the trial of any cauſe, are choſen from amongſt a great number; and this renders cabals impoſſible; any attempts indeed of this nature are unknown. Thus cauſes are ſpeedily decided, and with the greateſt impartiality. Linguet himſelf, who, before he was cured of his patriotiſm by the Baſtile, had taken upon him to decry every thing in England, pays notwithſtanding a tribute of admiration to the judicial proceedings of that country. We read in his annals an energetic detail of his ſentiments on this head. In a criminal proceſs, if the accuſed is a foreigner, the jury is compoſed of ſix foreigners and ſix natives. The names of his jury are previouſly communicated to him, that he may challenge, without aſſigning any reaſons, ſuch of them as he may ſuſpect of having malice againſt him.

Nothing can be more ſtriking than the gentleneſs and humanity with which criminals are treated by the court: whether they be robbers, or murderers, or incendiaries, and though their guilt be manifeſt; yet the lawyers, the jury, and the judges are anxious to prevent any undue advantages being taken of them. The indictment againſt them is ſcrutinized with attention, to ſee if any fault has crept into it, which may render the terms

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of it ambiguous. A wrong name, an inaccurate date, a ſingle letter miſplaced, added, or omitted, in the name of the accuſed, become here matters of ſuch importance, as to vitiate the indictment, and thus put an inſtant end to the trial. The lawyers defend the accuſed with zeal, and the witneſſes who give evidence againſt him, are interrogated with much ſeverity, and often with great acuteneſs. His own confeſſion is not demanded; it is indeed of no weight, when he cannot be convicted by the teſtimony of witneſſes. It is thought repugnant to human nature for a man to accuſe or give evidence againſt himſelf. How great is the contraſt between this philoſophical principle, and the maxims by which thoſe courts are regulated, where torture is the grand reſource! When the evidence is concluded, the criminal is allowed to addreſs the court in his own defence, and the greateſt attention is paid to what he ſays. If he is found guilty, the preſident of the court announces the puniſhment of the law, in a ſpeech which, far from being filled with reproaches or invectives againſt the unhappy culprit, is generally compoſed of the moſt tender and compaſſionate expoſtulations.

Colonel de la Mothe, the French ſpy, who was executed in London in 1782, and who, in his own country, had been treated as a contemptible miſcreant, was not a little ſur-

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priſed at the indulgence that was ſhewn him, even though a criminal arraigned for high treaſon. He was ſerved, while in priſon, with a ſtate of the circumſtances of which he was accuſed, that he might have time to anſwer them deliberately. Lawyers of eminence, without any proſpect of reward, undertook his defence. A liſt of the jury was given him, and, in a word, he was treated as if the happineſs of the ſtate had depended on his juſtification. The Judge obſerved with much gentleneſs, the tenderneſs which the laws had for his ſituation, and concluded with theſe words, " Thus, Sir, have you been treated in a country where you had no reaſon to expect the ſmalleſt indulgence; and ſuch are the cuſtoms of a people, whoſe excellent conſtitution you have endeavoured to overturn." Are not ſuch examples calculated to deſtroy the popular and fooliſh prejudice which repreſents the general manners of the Engliſh as barbarous and ſavage? I am not here talking of individuals; but of the nation, conſidered with reſpect to its conſtitution, manners, cuſtoms, and laws. If any one will apply himſelf to the inveſtigation of facts, and if he will examine them accurately, he will become ſenſible of the value of Britiſh legiſlation.

5. Every Engliſhman who has a freehold eſtate of the value of forty ſhillings yearly, is entitled

entitled to a vote in the election of a repreſentative in parliament, for the county in which he lives. This right, however, does not reſt on the ſame foundation in the towns. In ſome, every proprietor of a houſe has a vote; in others, only the members of the corporations; ſome have repreſentatives, though not poſſeſſed of landed property. The two univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge have a ſimilar privilege, not on account of their territorial poſſeſſions, but becauſe by granting it, an honour was ſuppoſed to be paid to ſcience.

The means of corruption are extremely advantageous to the court in elections for members of parliament: The laſt King, however, could not prevent the patriotic party from paſſing the moſt efficacious laws againſt this ſhameful abuſe; though means are ſtill fallen upon to infringe them with impunity. For inſtance, the candidate traverſes the county, buys all ſorts of trifles at a dear rate, gives three or four guineas for a chicken, &c. The peaſant comprehends what is meant by all this, accepts the money, and gives his vote. As the whole is an affair of mere ſpeculation, it often happens that the candidate laviſhes vaſt ſums in vain, when the influence of his rival is greater than his own. The famous banker Fordyce, who, in the year 1778, became a bankrupt, loſt in ſuch

a ſpe-

a ſpeculation thirty thouſand pounds: but imagining that injuſtice had been done him, he was fooliſh enough to embark in a law-ſuit ſtill more expenſive. Many hundreds of country people were brought up to London to appear as witneſſes. This ſecond ſpeculation had the fate of the firſt, and was not leſs conducive to his total ruin. The reſpect that is paid to a member of parliament, his influence in public affairs, eſpecially if he has any talents as a ſpeaker, talents that lead to the firſt dignities in the ſtate, have all a powerful effect on the ſoul of an Engliſhman, and diſpoſe him to ſtrain every nerve for a ſeat in the ſenate of his country. One of the principal cauſes of the venality of modern parliaments is, that all the Nabobs (a cant name given to perſons who have enriched themſelves in India) on their return to England, endeavour, at any price to get into parliament. This too is the true reaſon why ſo many atrocities committed in that part of the world remain unpuniſhed.

It is curious to obſerve the contraſt between two civilized nations, ſuch as Italy and England. This contraſt appears in every circumſtance in which it is poſſible for two nations to differ. Italy almoſt every day of the year celebrates a religious feſtival, England a political one. The latter is as much unknown in Italy, as the former

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in England. Nothing is more common here than meetings, proceſſions, and public teſtimonies of general joy; all theſe objects intereſt, in a lively manner, thoſe who know the nature of them; but the fineſt and the moſt extraordinary of all theſe ſpectacles is undoubtedly that of an election for members to ſerve in parliament. The ſame ſcenes that paſſed in ancient Rome when the new magiſtrates were choſen, may here be ſeen a few days before the election. People of the higheſt rank, who, by their birth, their wealth, or their talents, are entitled to be conſidered as the chief people of the ſtate, go about ſoliciting votes from the loweſt citizen. The beautiful Dutcheſs of Devonſhire herſelf was not aſhamed to mingle with the moſt inconſiderable houſeholders of Weſtminſter, to canvaſs for Mr Fox. The motive of this interference on the part of this amiable Dutcheſs, was chiefly to oblige the Prince of Wales, who intereſted himſelf warmly in the election of Fox. The day fixed being arrived, all the citizens who are qualified to vote are divided into companies, and arrange themſelves under different colours: the candidates appear in public proceſſion, accompanied by a crowd of their friends, who are diſtinguiſhed from the oppoſite party by the colour of the ribbons in their hats. Enſigns are carried before them, bearing the name of the candidate and his device. Theſe

proceſſions,

proceſſions, conſiſting of ſome thouſands of people, which, in London, have at leaſt not fewer than an hundred thouſand ſpectators, are made without thoſe armies of ſoldiers or officers of juſtice, whoſe preſence is conſidered as indiſpenſable in other countries, and who, for the moſt part, do infinitely more ill than good.

The candidates mount a ſort of Amphitheatre covered with carpets, erected for the purpoſe. Hence they harangue the people like the Roman orators in the *forum*. The citizens qualified to poll next proceed to write their names and their votes, without any diſtinction of rank or age, and a plurality of ſuffrages determines the election. The ſucceſsful perſon now, in virtue of his new dignity, acquires part of the ſovereign power, and of the ſacred privilege of giving laws to his country, or of abrogating them, and of watching over the ſafety and felicity of the nation. However great the noiſe and tumult on theſe occaſions may be, among a people who enjoy liberty ſo compleat, it very ſeldom happens that bloodſhed is occaſioned. For there exiſts a real and very eſſential difference between men accuſtomed to give way without fear to the unreſtrained movements of the heart, and thoſe unfortunate beings who, crouching under the yoke of ſurly deſpotiſm, abandon themſelves to the moſt criminal

minal exceſſes the moment they find their chains either broken or relaxed. However great may be the animoſity of the parties, neither ſword nor piſtol are ever ſeen in the ſtrife of theſe political combats.

When the election is over, the ſucceſsful candidate is carried home to his houſe in triumph. I cannot reſiſt the pleaſure of quoting here the beautiful deſcription that Linguet has given us in his annals of the triumph of Mr Fox in 1784, of which I was myſelf an eye-witneſs.

" Succeſs makes friends here as in other
" places. Mr Fox having had the majo-
" rity, the crowd of his partizans was now
" much more numerous than on the day of
" opening the poll. A detachment of peo-
" ple on horſeback began the triumphal
" march: they were followed by the co-
" lours of each pariſh whoſe votes had ope-
" rated the election of the candidate, ac-
" companied by the principal electors of
" thoſe pariſhes on foot, carrying in their
" hands a long white rod.

" After theſe colours appeared thoſe of
" Mr Fox himſelf; among which one of
" white ſattin was diſtinguiſhed with theſe
" words, " Sacred to female patriotiſm."
" This was at once an homage paid by gra-

" titude to the zeal of the Dutcheſs of De-
" vonſhire, a juſtification of her proceedings,
" and an equitable indemnification for the
" trouble they had expoſed her to.

" Another cavalcade preceded a troop
" crowned with laurels, accompanied with
" muſic; this was immediately ſucceeded
" by the victor himſelf, who was born on
" the ſhoulders of ſeveral ſtrong men in a
" chair, ſurrounded on three ſides with a
" thick foliage of laurel. He was followed
" by many coaches, with ſix horſes, empty,
" but decorated with feſtoons of laurel, and
" indicating by the livery of the domeſtics,
" the auguſt houſes to which they belonged.
" At laſt the proceſſion concluded with a
" much more numerous cavalcade, compoſed
" indifferently, like all the preceding, of ci-
" tizens of every condition, all united by
" one common ſentiment, who, forgetting
" the diſtinctions of rank, and diſplaying
" only the common expreſſion of joy and
" of equality, formed with the immenſe
" crowd in the ſtreets, and on the windows
" of the houſes, a ſpectacle as ſingular as in-
" tereſting; all hearts were dilated, and every
" eye exhibited the moſt unequivocal ſymp-
" toms of internal ſatisfaction."

" For my own part, I never beheld a ſcene
" that affected me more, or which, in my
" opinion,

" opinion, is more capable of exciting in
" the mind a higher degree of nobleneſs
" and energy."

" That ſatisfaction was ſtill more warmly
" felt by thoſe who conſidered that this
" homage was paid to a ſingle individual;
" without dignities, without power, ſup-
" portedonly by his courage, andby the zeal
" and devotion of friendſhip: that the ſame
" man, thus the object of attention, thus
" loaded with honours, and thus recom-
" penſed for his attachment to the people,
" and for his oppoſition to miniſters, would,
" in any other country, have groaned under
" perſecution; or might have ended his days
" in a dungeon; inſtead of this pomp which
" ſeemed to elevate him above the lot of a
" mortal, an arbitrary order might have
" precipitated him ignominiouſly into the
" grave of the Baſtile, or the Spandau, or
" have baniſhed him to the deſerts of Sibe-
" ria, places where not only friendſhipcould
" not come to conſole him, but where it
" would have trembled toacknowledge him;
" where it would not even have been al-
" lowed to verify his exiſtence or his de-
" ſtruction, &c."

" What a repreſentation! and how it juſ-
" tifies the pride of an Engliſhman! how it
" ſanctions the preference, that ſo many men

" of worth attribute even involuntarily to
" the conſtitution of Great Britain above all
" others!"

Thus ſpeaks Linguet, who juſtifies the change of his ſentiments in the following manner: " In returning hither,(to England,)
" I do not conceal that I have changed my
" opinion on a number of points; that, after
" having acquired much melancholy infor-
" mation with regard to that ſort of perfec-
" tion of which human ſocieties are ſuſcep-
" tible; after having been forced to give to
" meditation two whole years, abſtracted from
" my life by a violence from which it is the
" firſt law of theſe kingdoms to guard their
" ſubjects; I ſhall not fail to make the repara-
" tion that is due to their legiſlation, eſpe-
" cially from one who has been the victim
" of that violence which it keeps at a diſt-
" ance."

It is evident, that theſe elections for repreſentatives in parliament ſerve to foſter the pride of the Engliſh, and to inſpire them with certain ideas of natural equality. I was witneſs at an election for Newcaſtle of a very ſingular event. Two candidates offered themſelves for the repreſentation of this town. One of them was a friend and relation of the Duke of Northumberland, who went thither in perſon to aid his friend, and to take a

warm

warm intereſt in his ſucceſs. The patron of the other was a merchant of London, called Smith, who carried on the coal-trade to an extent which had already made him maſter of a fortune exceeding one hundred thouſand pounds. His trade gave him great and numerous connections in this place, where the coal ſhips arrive in order to pay the duties. The Duke of Northumberland, who, beſides his rank and princely fortune, was ſtill more diſtinguiſhed for having filled the firſt offices in the ſtate, did not imagine that ſuch a man could, with any ſucceſs, oppoſe his views. But, on his arrival at Newcaſtle, he was ſoon undeceived. He immediately, therefore, ſent to beg the favour that Smith would come and ſpeak with him. Smith returned for anſwer, that he had no buſineſs with the Duke, but that if the Duke had any thing to ſay to him, he might take the trouble of calling at his houſe. This in fact the Duke reſolved on, and propoſed to Smith, that, if he would agree to make his friend wave all pretenſions to the repreſentation of Newcaſtle, he would ſolemnly engage, that at another election, which would ſoon happen in a certain county, his friend ſhould be infallibly choſen, as the Duke had much property in that country, and the election depended entirely on him. Smith refuſed flatly the propoſition of the Duke; " I have given, ſaid he, my word to my friend, and I am in

the habit of keeping it."—" Well, then, ſaid the Duke, nothing remains but to try our reſpective ſtrength," and he left the houſe. Smith had the arrogance, as he was conducting the Duke down ſtairs, to aſſure him, that he would find it expedient to neglect no means that might contribute to his ſucceſs. In fact he did neglect none, but all was in vain. The friend of the coal-merchant was choſen, and people made themſelves merry with the defeat of the Duke.

There are real abuſes, however, which greater equality in the general repreſentation would remedy. What is called Influence is perfectly unknown in large towns, or, at leaſt, it is not of great conſequence. What perſon is able to corrupt an almoſt-innumerable multitude of people, who are either in eaſy circumſtances, or rich, or often indeed much more independent than the candidates themſelves. It was therefore an attempt truly patriotic, and worthy of a ſon of the great Pitt, which the preſent miniſter made in the years 1782 and 1783, in order to bring about a more equal repreſentation. Is it not unreaſonable, in the higheſt degree, that towns inhabited by 40,000 people, and ſometimes even by a greater number, ſhould have no repreſentative, becauſe they did not exiſt at the time when the Magna Charta was granted; while little paultry villages, inhabited

often

often only by poor day-labourers, have ſtill a right to be repreſented, becauſe they were ſome centuries ago conſiderable towns? London, which ought to have forty repreſentatives in parliament, has only four. Manchester, Birmingham, and many other towns, the manufactures and trade of which make England ſo flouriſhing, are not repreſented at all in the Houſe of Commons. The propoſal of Pitt, which tended to reſtore the political conſtitution of his country, verging by this means towards ruin, was oppoſed by Lord North and his adherents. The poſſibility of corruption would then have been annihilated, and their greatneſs at that time reſted ſolely on the baſis of corruption. While the king does not endeavour to extend unconſtitutionally the prerogatives of the crown, this reformation could do him no injury. Under the glorious adminiſtration of the immortal Chatham, no miniſterial influence was exerted, no arts of corruption were in practice. The Engliſh found all their wiſhes gratified, nor was there ever leſs difference of opinion.

It is a miſtake to think that the ſituation of a king of England muſt be very diſagreeable: On the contrary, if it were poſſible that a crown could confer happineſs on the head that wears it, a king of England, if he inclined, might undoubtedly enjoy the greateſt poſſible felicity. He has, we know, extraordinary

privileges,

privileges, ſuch as no head of a free people, either in ancient or in modern times, ever poſſeſſed. Without going back to remote antiquity, let us only conſider the Stadtholder of Holland, the predeceſſors of the king of Sweden, the ſovereigns of Poland: let us compare theſe with the Engliſh monarch, and we will inſtantly perceive the vaſt diſtance that ſeparates them. This laſt can, without the conſent of his parliament, agreeable to the conſtitution of the ſtate, contract alliances, declare war, make peace, receive and appoint ambaſſadors and miniſters and levy troops: He has the power of calling a parliament, and, if he pleaſes, of proroguing or adjourning it to whatever place he pleaſes, and even of diſſolving it entirely. He gives his ſanction to new laws; and though they may have paſſed through both houſes of parliament, he can annul them by withholding his conſent, and even without giving his reaſons for ſo doing. He poſſeſſes excluſively the right of appointing all the officers both in the ſea and land ſervice; magiſtrates, miniſters, the judges of the crown, biſhops and other eccleſiaſtics: he confers nobility, pardons criminals, remits fines; he can found univerſities, colleges, hoſpitals, and he can eſtabliſh markets: he has the ſole power of iſſuing proclamations and ordinances: he is the natural tutor of all idiots born in his dominions, and he is the heir of all who die inteſtate.

teſtate. All ſhipwrecked merchandizes which the wind throws in upon the ſhore, and the proprietor of which is unknown, belong of right to the king, as well as all ground forſaken by the ocean. He can make eccleſiaſtical regulations, eſtabliſh ceremonies, convoke national and provincial ſynods, &c. When a king of England contents himſelf with the peaceable enjoyment of all his rights, without encroaching on thoſe of the nation, he may intruſt the adminiſtration of his affairs entirely to the miniſters, who are reſponſible for all. *The king can do no wrong*, is a maxim in the Engliſh government; accordingly he is never perſonally attacked in parliament; his meaſures are cenſured thro' his miniſters. As theſe attacks are always accompanied with cutting perſonalities, it is evident that a great portion of phlegm muſt, in this country, be one of the firſt virtues of a good miniſter. Lord North poſſeſſes this in a ſupreme degree. He had, during his adminiſtration, adopted the principle of the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France: " *Laiſſons les dire, pourvu qu'ils nous laiſſent faire.*" It is, however, aſſerted, that an oppoſition is abſolutely neceſſary in the parliament of England: and this made the famous miniſter Walpole ſay, that if an oppoſition did not form of itſelf, it would be neceſſary to hire one with money.

The

The ſmalleſt perſonal offence offered to the king is a crime of high treaſon. He is ſo little circumſcribed in the uſe of his powers and privileges, that he can, without challenge, make a common ſailor High Admiral of England, and a poor curate Archbiſhop of Canterbury. But if the power of the monarch is thus unlimited in doing good, he has, on the contrary, his hands tied up moſt ſtrictly when he attempts to do ill. He dares not, without infringing the laws, beat the meaneſt of his grooms. There are no bounds preſcribed to his benevolence; but he cannot in the leaſt augment the puniſhment inflicted on criminals. This line of partition is undoubtedly a capital trait in a ſyſtem of politics. The ſovereign, having the executive power in his hands, can give energy and expedition to the operation of affairs, and a ſalutary exactneſs to the execution of the laws. If any one will compare with this the ſluggiſhneſs and prolixity with which other ſtates govern and conduct their affairs, he will ſee the numerous advantages of the Engliſh conſtitution in a much more forcible light.

Never, however, ſince the Revolution, have greater or more ſucceſsful efforts been made to encreaſe the power of the ſovereign, than in the preſent reign. Since its commencement to the retreat of Lord North in 1782, the ſubmiſſion of parliament to the

crown

crown was conſtantly unbounded. All the propoſitions of the miniſter were carried by a plurality of votes. So conſtant and ſo entire a compliance on the part of the parliament had never been known: and that too happening at a time when the whole nation was diſcontented. The character of the monarch was the ſole and only cauſe. It is more than probable that this character, which occurs ſo rarely in private life, but much more ſeldom on a throne, gave Lord Bute the idea of drawing from it all the advantage poſſible. That man, who, at the beginning of the preſent reign, was put at the head of affairs, is the true cauſe of all the misfortunes which, for twenty years, have afflicted England. The king, without being generous, or attached to money, has, notwithſtanding, a decided averſion to luxury. No ſovereign in Europe is ſo ill lodged, has a table ſo ſcantily furniſhed, or ſacrifices leſs to pleaſure. The œconomy of the court is carried ſo far, that I ſaw in a ball at St James's, tallow-candles burnt, which have been long baniſhed out of the better ſort of houſes in London. With a revenue of L. 900,000, which belongs to the civil liſt, to which muſt be added L. 300,000 more ariſing from other ſources, one would be tempted to think that the king poſſeſſed immenſe treaſures; while, on the contrary, he is loaded with debts, which the parliament is obliged from time

to

to time to diſcharge. To the explanation of this enigma, it is unneceſſary to add any comment.

Lord North adopted the plan of the Earl of Bute, and was able, during the eleven years of his inglorious adminiſtration, to precipitate his country from the flouriſhing ſtate in which he found it, to the ſad and melancholy ſtate in which it ſtill languiſhes, (1785.) This miniſter did not poſſeſs real eloquence, nor had he any enlarged views; but he uſed a number of little artifices, and had a decided talent for intrigue. By theſe means he came to rule the parliament, and to realize all his ideas, being ſteadily ſeconded by the other miniſters. Theſe were perſons worthy of their illuſtrious chief. Perhaps it would have been impoſſible among the whole nobility to have found ſuch another miniſter. Who has not heard of a Germaine, a man made infamous by a council of war; of a Sandwich, of a Rigby, and ſo many others, whom the monarch alone ſeemed unable to view in their proper colours? A journal of ſome reputation has been anxious to ſtate the reaſons, and to cite a number of anecdotes in order to account for the reciprocal averſion between the king and Lord North. It was certainly needleſs to ſearch for ſecret and extraordinary reaſons for an enmity, the cauſe of which is ſo glaring and manifeſt. The king

had

had long thought that he poſſeſſed in Lord North a good miniſter, and an honeſt man, and he never would conſent to be undeceived ſo long as he was at the head of affairs; but he was hardly removed, when the monarch had ſuch convincing proofs of his diſhoneſty and bad character, that it was impoſſible for him any longer to doubt. The eſteem which his Majeſty had hitherto entertained for him was then changed into contempt. This contempt was the more inſupportable to his Lordſhip, as it took from him all hope of again entering into the miniſtry. He then threw off the maſk, and ſhewed himſelf in his native colours.

The ſentiment of liberty, and the ever-active protection of the laws, are the cauſe why the common people teſtify but little conſideration for perſons of quality, and even for perſons in office, except they have gained their affection by affable and popular manners. That perfect equality which nature hath at all times eſtabliſhed among men, preſents itſelf but too forcibly to the minds of theſe haughty iſlanders; and neither dignities nor wealth are capable of effacing it. Even the Majeſty of the throne is often not ſufficiently reſpected. The Engliſhman conſiders his ſovereign only as the firſt of the magiſtrates in his pay. The nobility, who in every other country claim a right to the reſ-

pect and ſubmiſſion of their countrymen, form no pretenſions to ſuch a claim in England. The ſpirit of liberty which the Peers imbibe, as it were, with their milk, teaches them to conſider it as the nobleſt and moſt ſacred privilege which any man can boaſt of. No miniſter, whoſe caprice ſo often determines the fate of whole nations in other countries; no titled minion will venture to make the pooreſt give place to him in the ſtreet; and yet they daily paſs on foot through the beſt-peopled and moſt-frequented ſtreets of London, where they are preſſed and elbowed, and beſpattered, without once offering to complain. The proudeſt Engliſhman will converſe familiarly with the meaneſt of his countrymen; he will take part in their rejoicings: and as in England the difference of conditions is not meaſured by our ſcale, it is not ſurpriſing to ſee two perſons engaged in converſation, between whom there is the greateſt diſparity. It is true, that perſons of higher rank find the common people neceſſary to realize their ambitious deſigns, and it is not uncommon, at elections, and thoſe for members of parliament eſpecially, to ſee the loweſt of the citizens receiving letters from the moſt illuſtrious candidates, in which, in the moſt polite terms poſſible, they ſolicit the favour of their votes; and when theſe agree to their requeſt, they are not long in receiving a letter, in which the candidate

expreſſes

expreſſes his gratitude in the warmeſt terms. Have we not lately ſeen the Dutcheſs of Devonſhire laviſhing, on ſuch an occaſion, not only gold, but kiſſes, the ſame amiable lady of whom the celebrated Angelica Kauffman ſaid, that ſhe had never ſeen a female who more perfectly correſponded to the idea which the moſt ardent imagination could form of one of the graces. That great popularity, enjoyed by the nobility, which always ſo much aſtoniſhes ſtrangers, is congenial to the conſtitution of a free ſtate; the ſame thing happened in ancient Greece and Rome as long as thoſe Republics ſubſiſted. Is it not the effects of this conduct in the Engliſh nobility, that make them the moſt enlightened of their rank in Europe? They treat with familiarity the philoſopher and the artiſt, and reward them generouſly. But what renders them particularly praiſe-worthy, is the noble manner in which they ſupport the frowns of the court; the increaſe of zeal and attachment which it procures them from their friends, the eſteem of their acquaintances, who, far from diminiſhing, ſeem, on the contrary, to grow more numerous; and who, inſtead of abandoning them with the favour of their ſovereign, become more prodigal of their eſteem and attachment than before. Thus it was that Lord Chatham, who left adminiſtration at the time when the preſent king mounted the throne, became almoſt

idolized by the people, who both eſteemed and loved him before he loſt his place. His portrait was hung up in every houſe, as that of a tutelary god; ſtreets and taverns, coffee-houſes and gardens were called by his name; and pompous inſcriptions recalled to the mind of the paſſenger the benefactor of his country.

The Engliſh, in general, form a very different idea of honour and of infamy from that which is entertained by the other nations of Europe. A man who is arreſted, and put in priſon, is not, for that reaſon, inſulted, nor is the family of a criminal, who has ſuffered death, diſhonoured. The laſt Duke of Lancaſter but one, had married the daughter of a groom. was alive a few years ago, and went by the title of Dutcheſs Dowager. The honour of the Duke was not injured by this low marriage, and the Dutcheſs frequented the Court like any other woman of quality. A man of diſtinction anſwers one inſult by another, and forgives it without revenge, or without challenging the perſon who has inſulted him. The laſt Duke of Bedford, after having diſcharged the moſt eminent offices in the ſtate, was unmercifully *drubbed* at a horſe race. This did not prevent him from obtaining, in the year 1762, the honourable commiſſion of going to Verſailles to ſign the famous treaty of peace.

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The populace among us, who have quite another idea of honour, do not ſcruple to attribute this way of thinking to a want of delicacy, and to rudeneſs and ferocity of manners. But the philoſopher, who finds among the Engliſh every other indication of that delicacy we deny them, who even finds it carried to its higheſt degree of perfection, who diſcovers nothing leſs than rudeneſs and ferocity in the manners of that enlightened people; the philoſopher, I ſay, is thus led to view the laws of honour in a very different light. Every individual in a monarchy, trembles for fear of an affront even from the moſt inconſiderable being: the moſt indifferent action, a ſingle word, ſometimes even a mere ſuſpicion, is ſufficient to tear from an unhappy wretch his means of ſubſiſtence, and often theſe trivial cauſes coſt him his fortune and his life. The exiſtence or the well-being of a whole family, depend on the moſt inconſiderable of all events; and, in general, it is nothing but ſome ridiculous prejudice, which, according to the maxims once adopted, wounds the law of that phantom called Honour. Accordingly, people are obliged to be conſtantly on their guard, to fortify themſelves againſt attacks from without, and to fix an attentive eye on their neighbour; the leaſt exceptionable word diſturbs them; and vengeance or juſtification alone employ their thoughts. Hence it follows naturally, that people refine

on the principles of honour, and falſe principles are maintained. But in a republic where thoſe ideas loſe a part of their ſuperabundant ſublimity, where the citizen is in total ignorance of a thouſand conſiderations, which the ſubject of a monarchy muſt never loſe ſight of, the caſe is very different. I appeal to the hiſtory of the Greeks and the Romans: in the times when their civilization was brought to its higheſt perfection, their ſentiments on this head were exactly what thoſe of the Engliſh are now.

On the other hand, the Engliſh conſider diſſimulation as the moſt deſpicable of all vices: hence that character of openneſs and ſincerity, which, if they are not careful to ſoften by gentle expreſſions, paſſes for rudeneſs. This uncommon but precious quality of frankneſs they owe to their excellent conſtitution: it is a quality generally allied to courage, and to a fortitude unconquerable. It is not uncommon to hear in the courts of juſtice, and in parliament, ſuch bitter invectives thrown out, as one would think could not be revenged by the perſon againſt whom they are uttered, but by the blood or the death of his adverſary: theſe ſcenes, however, very ſeldom have fatal conſequences. And indeed, without this violence of ſpeech, how could the parliament of England exiſt? The foreigner, who thinks theſe tranſports repre-

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henſible, has not ſurely reflected on the nature of a free ſenate, where the uſeful muſt be preferred to the decent; where no cold ſpeeches, dictated by cuſtom, are to be heard; and where, in fine, it is impoſſible for the true patriot, who has his heart full of the importance of his ſubject, to govern the fire of his eloquence, and to reſtrain it within the bounds of a ſervile complaiſance. I allow that thoſe bounds are ſometimes over-ſtepped; but general reprehenſion is then the inevitable conſequence.

One of the moſt violent ſpeakers in parliament, and who deſpiſes thoſe trammels in the greateſt degree, is undoubtedly Colonel Luttrel, a younger brother of the Dutcheſs of Cumberland. This inattention to all the laws of good breeding was carried to ſuch a length by him, that in a ſpeech he made in the year 1777, he concluded with wiſhing that all thoſe barbarous modes of execution, which are the opprobrium of the nations where they are ſtill in uſe, were practiſed in England; becauſe then it would be impoſſible for Lord North to eſcape the wheel: "and it "would be a real pleaſure to me, ſaid he, to "ſee his bones broken by the hands of the "executioner." This expreſſion ſhocked the whole Houſe, but Lord North, who was preſent, roſe with his uſual phlegm, and began by ſaying with a ſmile, that it was neceſſary

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for him to be ſpeedy in ſpeaking, before he was broken on the wheel. Colonel Luttrel had a ſquabble the year following with Lord George Germain, the ſame who, after the battle of Minden, had been formally diſgraced by a council of war. He had inſinuated himſelf into favour with the adminiſtration of that day, and then occupied, to the misfortune of his country, a place in the miniſtry, and he was the author of that ridiculous plan which ended in the defeat of Burgoyne, and the loſs of his whole army at Saratoga. Luttrel reproached him openly with having been legally diſhonoured, and with having ſhewn himſelf a poltroon: he accompanied his reproaches with ſo many cutting reflections, and with ſo much volubility, that the old Germaine, being able to contain no longer, got up in a tranſport of fury, and apoſtrophized him by the name of *fellow*. Theſe proceedings, contrary to rule, put the whole Houſe in a tumult. Luttrel, who foreſaw the conſequences, left the Houſe and mixed with the crowd in the gallery, whence he obſerved what paſſed. The Speaker begged the Houſe to aſſiſt him in putting a period to the affair. Germaine conſented, but Luttrel had withdrawn. His abſence increaſed the tumult, till he was at laſt diſcovered in the gallery. He was obliged to deſcend, but would not conſent to make any apology to Lord George. Upon this refuſal, perſiſted in on his part,

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one of the members propoſed to ſend him to the Tower: but as the vote cannot be put on any propoſition made in parliament, unleſs it be ſeconded, and as no perſon there choſe to do ſo in this caſe, Luttrel himſelf cried out, *I ſecond the motion.* At laſt, however, the parties were prevailed on to make mutual conceſſions, and the matter dropt.

It is not uncommon, likewiſe, to ſee two perſons throwing out the bittereſt invectives againſt each other, and yet converſing in the moſt familiar and amicable manner when they are out of the Houſe. The heads of the parties alone obſerve certain rules on this head, from which they never depart, and hate one another moſt cordially. The celebrated orator Burke, who has always ſhewn himſelf a man of honour, exhauſted, during the American war, all the metaphors which his ardent imagination furniſhed him with: he concluded one day a thundering ſpeech by the moſt dreadful maledictions againſt the miniſters: he aſſured the Houſe, that the firſt thing he would teach his grandchildren, the moment they began to liſp, would be to curſe, as he did, thoſe infamous miſcreants who had ruined their country; and after having pronounced thoſe words of peace and benediction, he quitted the Houſe.

The loſs which the Engliſh ſupported with leaſt

leaſt temper during the American war, was that of their army at Saratoga; for they had conceived the higheſt expectations from it, as well as from the conduct of the General who had the command. That unhappy cataſtrophe firſt made France throw off the maſk, and declare the Americans a free people. Burgoyne, priſoner as he was, returned to Europe to undertake his defence. But it was pretended that, in quality of priſoner, he could not be permitted to ſpeak to the king; and it was attempted, from the ſame conſideration, to prevent his appearance in the Houſe of Commons, of which he was a member. This laſt attempt did not ſucceed. Burgoyne came and juſtified his conduct, though in a general and vague manner, becauſe he was ſtill willing to keep terms with the miniſtry: but they, careful of their own places, kept no meaſures with him, but forced the unhappy General, who deſerves to be reckoned among the ſmall number of Engliſh officers, who underſtand ſomewhat of tacticks, to reſign all his employments. Burgoyne then made his appeal to the nation at large, in a memoir, which is really a maſterpiece, both on account of the importance of its matter, and the affecting manner in which it is written. In this he expoſed the ignorance and wickedneſs of the miniſters. He had timeouſly repreſented to them the impoſſibility of penetrating with his ſmall army

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into the deſerts of America. But inſtead of paying attention to his wife repreſentations, they contented themſelves with repeating, in the moſt poſitive terms, the order for making the attempt. Burgoyne was a ſoldier; he ſaw himſelf loſt without reſource, and yet was forced to obey. He began to imagine, that by thus ſacrificing his little army, they certainly expected to realize projects of the greateſt importance. As a citizen, his particular advantage was loſt in that of the public; as a warrior, he was obliged to conſole himſelf with the conſideration that he and his ſoldiers might experience a deſtiny ſimilar to that which the two moſt warlike nations ancient hiſtory has handed down to us experienced at the forks of Caudium and at Marathon. This memoir of General Burgoyne, accompanied by proofs in writing of every thing he advanced, was never anſwered.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

THE national pride of the Engliſh is a natural conſequence of their political conſtitution, by which every citizen acknowledges no other dependence than that which the laws have impoſed. This pride is carried among them to an exceſſive height. Indeed how would it be poſſible to know or to feel all the merit of a ſimilar ſyſtem, without, at the ſame time, valuing it at the higheſt rate? The ſentiment with which the Engliſh of our days have been ſo often reproached, has always been the portion of the moſt enlightened nations in the world. The Greeks and Romans carried, to the higheſt degree, this laudable pride, which, together with their ardent love of their country, gave birth to thoſe heroic actions, which will be for ever recorded in the annals of immortality. If the modern hiſtory of England is equally full of the ſame ſublime features, they too muſt be aſcribed to the ſame *amor patriæ*, a ſentiment which, when carried to that length in which it reigns in the hearts of theſe high-ſpirited iſlanders, cannot be entertained without inſpiring a ſort of contempt for every thing foreign. This fault, if it is one, is much more conſpicuous among the Spaniards

ards than in Engliſhmen; but as in that country it does not reſt on any ſolid foundation, it has juſtly become an object of ridicule to all other nations; while the Engliſh, far from being ſcorned, are hated by thoſe very men, who are obliged, from the bottom of their heart, to do homage to their virtue. Envy ſometimes enters the heart of a whole nation, as it does into that of an individual. I would even venture to aſſert, that national pride is not modified by the temper of the different perſons it animates, but that it continues always the ſame. The ſmalleſt, or the largeſt portion of it which we fancy we can perceive, depend reſpectively on the various turns of proſperous or of adverſe fortune, and not on the individuals that experience them. Perhaps there is no people in Europe who poſſeſs more national pride than the French: but theirs, it would be eaſy, with a little penetration, to confound with that urbanity, and thoſe poliſhed manners which diſtinguiſh the nation. It is under this maſk that the dextrous Frenchman avoids thoſe ſhowers of envy that are poured out without meaſure on his neighbour the Engliſhman. It was this pride, ſo offenſive to other people, which ſo many nations endeavoured to humble in the American war. Many provinces, even of the Empire, (in which the ſpirit of imitation reigns with ſo deſpotic a ſway, that the people think, and live, and exiſt after the man-

ner of the French) felt themſelves animated with the ſame rage againſt their deareſt intereſts. They carried their madneſs ſo far as to forget the blood and treaſure which England, in this very century, had ſacrificed for the peace and happineſs of their country; and even deſired, without well knowing why, to ſee its ſource dried up for ever. But it muſt be remarked, that the principal members of the empire, guided by a more judicious and more ſalutary ſpirit, trembled for England: even Switzerland, though connected neither by policy nor by trade with that iſland, made almoſt unanimous vows for its proſperity.

A traveller, eſpecially when he comes to England by France, no longer finding that *politeſſe* he has been uſed to, ſo engaging and yet ſo unmeaning, immediately concludes the Engliſh to be as ſavage as they are blunt: and this, merely becauſe he does not give himſelf the trouble of penetrating beyond the ſurface of their character. Groſley, a member of the French academy, relates, with great ſimplicity, in one of his letters, an accident which happened to himſelf. He had entered England, in the idea that he was viſiting the moſt unpoliſhed people in Europe. A few days after his arrival, he went to the play. The houſe was exceedingly crowded; Groſley had come alone, and his curioſity was ſtretched to the higheſt pitch. Accordingly

ingly he muſters up all the Engliſh he was maſter of, and begins to put a multitude of queſtions to the perſon who ſat next him: but his jargon being perfectly unintelligible, his neighbour riſes abruptly, turns his back upon Groſley, and leaves him. The Frenchman was but moderately ſurpriſed at this behaviour, ſo rude in appearance, as it confirmed him in the opinion he had already formed; but he was aſhamed of his opinion, when he ſaw the Engliſhman return and take his place. Having obſerved, at the other extremity of the pit, one of his friends who underſtood French, he puſhed through the crowd to get at him, and returned with infinite difficulty to the ſtranger, bringing his friend along with him. I aſk if this be true politeneſs or not? A Frenchman would have thought he did all that could be expected of him, if he *ſaid* ſomething handſome to Groſley; the Engliſhman, on the contrary, thought he was obliged to *do* ſomething, and he did it. If it is in actions, and not in words, that true politeneſs conſiſts, we muſt acknowledge that the Engliſh are, in this reſpect, the moſt polite people in Europe. The principle of ſuch actions is ſo much the more pure, that the indigent, in a free nation, are not obliged to humble themſelves before the rich, and that the citizen, in eaſy circumſtances, knows no bounds to his independence but thoſe which the laws have appointed.

The moral character of the Engliſh has degenerated, but it is, notwithſtanding, very eſtimable ſtill: for it is not by the members of its parliaments, by its rapacious ſoldiers, its tyrants of India, or its privateers, who have all one end at which they aſpire, that we are to judge of the Engliſh nation. Many members of parliament, in order to arrive at places of eminence, allow themſelves to be corrupted. Thoſe who quit Europe to go and ravage India are mere adventurers, and it is the nature of a pirate to rob and murder his fellow-creature. Is it on the ſcum of a nation that we ought to found our opinion of its moral character, or on a multitude of noble actions of every kind, which are every day performed by thouſands in that iſland?

A very extraordinary accident, which happened in the year 1765, will ſerve to put in its cleareſt light the noble and generous ſpirit of the Engliſh. The emigrations from many places of the Empire, which we ſtill ſo much lament, and which were founded on reaſons partly valid and partly imaginary, made a German gentleman conceive a very ſingular ſcheme. The name of this gentleman and his intentions are ſtill unknown; the reſources he fell upon in order to realize a plan ſo deeply laid, are equally ſo. This, however, is certain, that no common genius could have imagined, much leſs put in execution

cution an enterprize of ſuch a nature. In the year 1765 he went to London, at the head of eight hundred emigrants, conſiſting of men, women, and children, whom he had collected in the Palatinate, in Franconia, and in Suabia, by perſuading them that they would find a more comfortable ſubſiſtence in the Britiſh colonies. Upon their arrival in London, this ſingular man diſappeared, and was never heard of more. Deſtitute and forſaken, theſe unfortunate beings found themſelves loſt in that immenſe city, without knowing a word of the language, and without the acquaintance of a ſingle perſon in it; the greater part of them were covered only with a few rags; they had no ſhelter, not even bread to give their children who were crying for want, and they knew not whom to addreſs. In the hope of ſome ſort of deliverance, they ſat themſelves down in the open air, in the ſtreets neareſt to the place where they had landed. In any other city, in Paris itſelf, the unexpected arrival of a colony of eight hundred people, would have been inſtantly known in every quarter, and meaſures would have been taken in conſequence of it: but the news was a long time in ſpreading through London. The inhabitants of this part of the town, as well as the paſſengers, were indeed extremely ſurpriſed at the aſpect of this ſingular group of people, who were all uttering complaints in a foreign tongue; but being unable to pe-

netrate the cauſe, they did not give themſelves any concern. Two days paſſed in this manner away, and theſe poor wretches were ſtill lying in Goodman's-Fields, in the open air, without any food. Some of them even died of hunger on the third day; and their miſery had reached its height, while it was ſtill unknown except in that ſmall corner of the town; it had never been told either at Weſtminſter or in the city. The poor inhabitants of this quarter were, however, not idle ſpectators of ſo much calamity: they gave the deſtitute wretches all the aſſiſtance in their power; but how feeble are the endeavours of benevolent indigence in ſuch a moment! The bakers, for inſtance, are accuſtomed every morning to ſend their boys with large baſkets of bread to be diſtributed among their cuſtomers. One of theſe paſſing by the place where thoſe unhappy emigrants lay, was informed that they had been already two days without food. "Have they indeed! ſaid he, ſetting down his baſket in the midſt of them, then our cuſtomers muſt wait for a day, even though my maſter ſhould loſe them all; I will divide the bread among theſe poor people, though I ſhould pay it out of my own wages." The act of this youth, I hope, has no need of a comment.

Wachſel, a miniſter of the German church, who lived in that quarter of the town, at laſt

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reſolved to publiſh an account of this ſingular event in the news-papers. He painted, in a letter which he ſigned, the miſery of his countrymen in the moſt affecting manner; he implored, in their behalf, the generous compaſſion of the Engliſh, on which theſe unhappy wretches had ſo ſtrong a reliance, when they deſerted their native country. The effect of this letter was incredible. The newspapers are publiſhed generally about eight o'clock; about nine, there came from one of the remoteſt quarters about Weſtminſter a man on horſeback, who put into the hands of Wachſel a bank-note for a hundred pounds. The meſſenger did not name the donor, but it was ſoon known that it was the old Counteſs of Cheſterfield, who was the author of ſo generous a donation. But this was only, as it were, an earneſt of the generoſity of the whole kindogm. Bank-notes and guineas were poured in upon the reſpectable Wachſel: coffee-houſes were appointed for the purpoſe of receiving benefactions, and where ſubſcriptions were opened. Agents were elected for theſe unhappy people, who could not even with money provide for their neceſſities: phyſicians, apothecaries, nurſes and interpreters were furniſhed; and, in a word, this poor abandoned troop were relieved, and had the hope of a happy deliverance before the end of that ſame day.

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In the mean time, the ſubſcriptions continued to fill. Perhaps there never was any ſo generally ſpread. There were few opulent people, or perſons of any rank, from the one end of the kingdom to the other, who refuſed to contribute. I have ſeen the liſt of theſe benefactors of my countrymen, and I counted more than twenty who had ſubſcribed L. 100, and ſome individuals even a larger ſum. The total of the contribution is unknown to me; it was, however, ſufficient to maintain the whole body of emigrants for five months in London: they were afterwards put aboard veſſels freighted for the purpoſe, provided with every neceſſary, and bound for Carolina. There they landed happily, and received, on their arrival, not only all things neceſſary for their eſtabliſhment in the country, but likewiſe what remained of the money ſubſcribed. It might be preſumed, that the Germans ſettled in London were not behindhand in generoſity to their countrymen with the Engliſh. Not only thoſe among them in eaſy circumſtances, but even ſome of them that were wealthy, to whom the Engliſh had committed the charge of theſe unfortunate perſons, made them pay dearly for their ſervices out of the funds that had been collected for them.

It has been obſerved, that the common people of England are much more knowing

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and better inſtructed than the people of other countries. The free and unreſtrained manner in which they talk and write on all ſubjects, is the true cauſe of this ſuperiority. One is often aſtoniſhed to hear individuals, from amongſt the loweſt of the populace, reaſoning very ſerioufly on the laws, on the rights of property, on privileges, &c. If the Engliſh news-papers in general team with nonſenſe and abſurdity, they contain, however, very frequently, many eſſays worthy of being read and preſerved. A politician often inſerts, in theſe papers, long diſſertations on national affairs, in which every perſon, down to the very ſhoe-black, is intereſted. It is not uncommon to find perſons of this rank reading and giving their opinions on the public papers. The prodigious quantity of advertiſements, of original and pleaſant anecdotes, which have often the ſtrangeſt conſequences, add very much to the entertainment and information afforded by theſe papers. I knew a woman who, after having duped her huſband, eloped from him. Without the aſſiſtance of theſe ſingular papers, the repentance of the wife would never have been known, but the diſhonour of the huſband would have continued as certain as permanent: the news-papers, however, extricated both of them from their reſpective difficulties, and their reconciliation was as ſudden as ſecret. The huſband announced in

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the papers, the departure of his wife for the country; he inſerted, however, a letter for her without naming her, written in ſuch a manner, that ſhe could not fail to know that it was from her huſband. He promiſed to forgive and to forget the paſt. Luckily ſhe read the ſame paper, and anſwered the letter in the ſame way; ſhe propoſed conditions, and in three days returned to him, without having, by her abſence, occaſioned the leaſt ſuſpicion. Letters of this ſort, and in general all articles that do not intereſt the people at large, but only particular individuals, the printer is paid for in proportion to their length; and he never enquires either the name or the place of abode, or any other thing which it may be neceſſary to conceal: but thoſe articles which relate to public affairs, and the accounts of thoſe events in which the whole nation is concerned, are not paid for. The perſon who communicates any ſuch, may remain unknown by means of a box, which has an opening towards the ſtreet for receiving ſuch communications. If you are willing to make yourſelf known to the publiſher, he will promiſe ſolemnly to conceal your name from the public, if you deſire it; and nothing will ever prevail on him to violate this promiſe; for his own intereſt is ſo involved in keeping it ſecret, that the total loſs of his reputation and buſineſs might be the conſequence of a diſcovery. He is,

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however, obliged to be reſponſible for every thing he prints, which may in any way be conſtrued into a libel. The injured party may proſecute him. If the King, or either Houſe of Parliament, be attacked in any of thoſe papers, the Attorney-General becomes the proſecutor: and if the objectionable article has not been conceived in pitiful and calumniating terms, but with the noble boldneſs which ever characteriſes the truth, the publiſher is ſure of having the moſt eminent counſel of the kingdom to undertake his defence.

WOODFALL, the Printer of the *Public Advertiſer*, (the beſt paper in London,) was, in the year 1770, obliged to appear in a ſuit, on account of the famous letters of Junius, which are a maſter-piece of eloquence, daringneſs, and truth. All England took part in this affair, and the moſt celebrated lawyers were engaged in it; not merely to defend a ſimple individual, but to ſupport the ſacred right, which every Britiſh ſubject claims, of ſpeaking and writing openly, and without reſerve, his opinion of public affairs. Woodfall was acquitted, and thus the matter terminated, without the diſcovery of the ingenious author of thoſe letters, whoſe name remains unknown to this day. It is not to be doubted but the printer knows it, for a production of that nature could not be depoſited ſecretly in

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the box. Judges maintain that it is the moſt elegant piece of proſe compoſition in the Engliſh language. Some expreſſions, and a certain original phraſeology, made it be ſuſpected that the celebrated Burke was the ſuppoſed Junius.

It is not uncommon to ſee thoſe printers expoſed on the pillory, or dragged to priſon: by naming the author of an exceptionable production, they eſcape ſuch affronts; but this they never do without his conſent. Parſon Horne, curate of Brentford, in the year 1778, had generoſity enough to allow his name to be given up. That ſingular perſon, who, as a man, a patriot, and an orator, has acquired ſuch a title to eſteem from mankind in general, and to the gratitude of his countrymen in particular, being the founder of that celebrated ſociety inſtituted for the maintenance of the rights and privileges of the nation, had, in a public paper, denominated the American war a maſſacre, and the party of the court who had kindled and ſupported it, a troop of aſſaſſins. The printer was ſummoned to appear, and being authoriſed by Horne, named him as the author of the piece, and was then diſmiſſed. The intrepid parſon was condemned to twelve months impriſonment, and was only ſaved from the pillory by the reſpect paid to his character of clergyman. The manner in which the rabble

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treat thoſe who are ſentenced to this puniſhment, makes it as dangerous as diſgraceful; ſometimes, however, far from entailing infamy, it confers honour and reputation on the perſon condemned to it. I was myſelf witneſs to a ſcene of this kind. A printer was ſet on the pillory, ſurrounded by an innumerable multitude, who, inſtead of maltreating him, expreſſed every mark of countenance and approbation. Refreſhments were brought, and as he had not the uſe of his hands, they were held up to his mouth. The pillory was decorated with flowers, a number of people of the firſt diſtinction ſtood around, and converſed familiarly with this ſingular culprit, for whom, if we may uſe the expreſſion, the pillory was a triumphal car: and, however uneaſy his ſituation might be, which he was obliged to ſupport for the ſpace of an hour, he might, nevertheleſs, conſider it as one of the moſt agreeable in his whole life.

In the courſe of the winter, in the year 1779, twelve thouſand copies of the Public Advertiſer were thrown off, and 8000 in the ſummer: of the Daily Advertiſer, which contains little elſe than advertiſements, 20,000 were publiſhed. This buſineſs is exceedingly lucrative, and employs, in the city of London alone, a prodigious number of people; and we may aver, that a great number of idle perſons gain their bread in this way by do-

ing nothing. Theſe are called Paragraph-writers, who frequent the coffee-houſes and public places to collect the anecdotes and news of the day, which they fabricate into paragraphs for the papers. They are paid according to the extent and authenticity of their intelligence. The ſpeeches in parliament are taken down by a ſort of men, who are found no where but in England. When they are well practiſed in their art, they do not loſe a ſingle word of the ſpeaker, however rapidly he may declaim. This kind of writing is called *ſhort-hand*, and a ſingle character not only ſtands for words, but ſometimes for a whole phraſe.

The court, too, publiſhes a paper which bears the title of the Gazette. It is dearer, andyet much leſs intereſting, than any of the others. A perſon of diſtinction, generally a member of parliament, is the editor of the Gazette; and repays the great advantages which ariſe from the employment, by giving his vote to the court-party. The Gazette contains the titles of all the acts of parliament, all petitions, all addreſſes from counties or burghs, royal proclamations, liſts of promotions and penſions; in ſhort, every thing that happens at court with which it is thought proper to make the people acquainted. In time of war are inſerted the diſpatches from the commanders both at ſea and land, when

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they are favourable, but whatever may injure the intereſts of the miniſter, is carefully ſuppreſſed, as are all other correſpondence and tranſactions on ſtate affairs. Such was the conduct of Lord North. Lord Chatham obſerved a very oppoſite courſe during his glorious adminiſtration. All the diſpatches from Generals were printed word for word, without the ſmalleſt alteration or mutilation: the public was conſtantly made acquainted with them, even in the middle of the night. This manner of acting, open and above diſguiſe, was calculated to inſpire the nation with the moſt entire confidence in that great man.

The exceſſive moroſeneſs and inſociable temper of the Engliſh, muſt be attributed to their extreme eagerneſs to read thoſe immenſe quantities of Gazettes and political papers which are printed every day. It is often with the greateſt difficulty that you can prevail on an Engliſhman to ſpeak; his anſwer is ſeldom more than, *yes*, or *no*: but if one has the addreſs to turn the ſubject upon politics, his face immediately brightens up, he opens his mouth, and becomes eloquent: for this topic, if we may uſe the expreſſion, is combined with his exiſtence. A foreigner will find himſelf in the ſame diſpoſition after having lived a conſiderable time in England. The ſame cauſe produces the ſame effect. I

have known perſons, who, upon arriving in London, could not endure to enter upon political ſubjects, who, nevertheleſs, in a ſhort time, came to acquire an enthuſiaſtic inclination for them. This is eaſily accounted for: it is as citizens of a free ſtate, and as thinking beings, that the Engliſh take ſo much intereſt in public affairs: they are often perſonally intereſted in them mediately, or immediately; they inveſtigate the characters of thoſe whoſe hands are intruſted with the reins of government; they become attached to them in a more intimate manner: in all their ſocieties, politics make the ſubject of diſcourſe; every day they ſee or hear of public meetings, of ſolemn proceſſions to preſent petitions, of aſſemblies of perſons, and ſingular methods of attaining certain ends; they can, upon every political event, make their opinions known in the public papers, with the certainty of being attended to by multitudes; all theſe circumſtances united, make this occupation peculiarly intereſting, and make the reading of the public papers a real paſſion with the Engliſh.

It is only in this country, that it is uſual to addreſs the nation in general through the channel of a public news-paper. Accordingly, ſtrangers cannot judge of the advantages of this practice, but by the excellent effects that reſult from it. The anecdote of

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the German emigrants I have juſt related, is a convincing proof of this. Charity recommended from the pulpits, or by the ſound of a drum, would not have been half ſo effectual, as that produced by a ſimple letter read in every corner of London. The whole of that immenſe place was, in one and the ſame inſtant, made acquainted with the diſmal cataſtrophe, while a ſimple rumour is always much more obſcure and equivocal, to which people of ſenſe pay but little attention. How often have not the ſame means been employed to arouſe the patriotiſm of the nation, and to make the beſt-concerted plans ſucceed! But unhappily the beſt things, in their very nature, are ſubject to abuſe; and this is the caſe with theſe public news-papers. Without citing here the example of Lord George Gordon, that dangerous madman, who, in the year 1780, made uſe of this engine to enliſt the rabble under his banners, and to expoſe all London to the moſt imminent hazard, there are inſtances of villains who, by means of falſe advertiſements, dupe, in various ways, a public, which, notwithſtanding ſo many examples ſufficient to correct its extravagant credulity, is always too much diſpoſed to believe them. Sometimes they pretend to be in poſſeſſion of capitals which they want to ſink, and ſometimes they want to borrow ſums on undoubted ſecurity. Theſe advertiſements make them acquainted with people

who are in poſſeſſion of ready money, and who have occaſion for the exact ſum which they offer to lend: and it is not uncommon to ſee ſuch tricks crowned with ſucceſs. Others make an affecting relation of the melancholy ſituation of a widow left with a numerous family, or of an old man languiſhing in poverty, whoſe name, it is ſaid, they are obliged to conceal from motives of delicacy to his family; but they never fail to give notice, with the greateſt preciſion, of the place where the charitable may depoſit ſums for his relief. The public papers are, beſides, daily filled with advertiſements, which offer large ſums to any who have ſufficient intereſt with the miniſtry, or men in power, to procure for the perſon advertiſing a lucrative place, promiſing at the ſame time the utmoſt ſecrecy. Many authors alſo write criticiſms on their own works, and the next day attack the judgment given by themſelves under a fictitious name. Their aim is to create a noiſe, and to make themſelves be taken notice of: and they ſometimes accompliſh their purpoſe.

Women of pleaſure, under the maſk of virtue, inform the public of their deſire to find a huſband of an agreeable temper. They do not fail to add, that they are rich, young, handſome; and that they require no other qualification in their future ſpouſe, but to have a moderate capital, or a good office.

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Country-people, or inexperienced perſons, are often catched in the trap. They find beautiful creatures, gentle as innocence, and modeſt as modeſty itſelf, who make them the moſt affecting relation of perſecutions which they have ſuffered from their parents or guardians, and do not fail to make it manifeſt that nothing can be more eaſy than to compel the payment of their fortune. The ſtory takes; the ſimpleton conſents to every thing required of him, and at laſt perceives, though ſeldom, till it is too late, that he has been duped. There are even men who, under a ſimilar diſguiſe, make ſimilar offers to the fair, with this difference, that, inſtead of offering the enticement of a fortune, they require it of their future ſpouſe; and if they do not make a pompous diſplay of a happy conſtitution, they vaunt at leaſt their wit, the excellence of their character, and in ſhort their willingneſs to do their utmoſt in every way for the happineſs of thoſe who ſhall accept of them for a huſband. Theſe ſingular advertiſements ſometimes likewiſe take effect, but more rarely, however, than the former. There are not wanting wicked wits who make game of both. They contrive, by various ways, to bring about meetings with the parties intereſted, and betray them into ſituations productive of the moſt diverting ſcenes.

But none turn the public papers to ſo much

much account, as the perſons who have money in the public funds. They forge at pleaſure a war or a peace, they make treaties of alliance, they fabricate accounts of events with ſo many circumſtantial particulars, and with ſo much addreſs, as to have every appearance of truth; and thus occaſion daily immenſe ſums to be either gained or loſt.

Of this branch of trade, the government has made an article of finance, which brings in annually ſome hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Every ſheet of paper on which news are printed, is marked with a ſtamp, to denote the payment of a ſtamp-duty; and an additional tax is laid on each advertiſement.

All periodical publications, and even that immenſe heap of pamphlets which appear and diſappear daily, are alſo ſubject to a tax. Amongſt theſe periodical papers, the famous one called the North Briton deſerves to be mentioned. The 45th number of that paper gave riſe to a very important event, and no book ever had the advantage of creating ſo marked an attention. It was the cauſe of a miſunderſtanding between the people and the legiſlative power of the kingdom, which laſted upwards of ten years, and put the conſtitution in the moſt imminent danger. It loſt the king the love of his people, immor-

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talized its author Wilkes, and ſettled the extent of miniſterial power in all future times. As this event, ſo intereſting to the philoſopher, the politician, and even to the thinking being, has never been ſufficiently known in Germany, and as the conduct of Wilkes has been viewed in a very falſe light, I imagine it will not be improper to give here a faithful and circumſtantial account of it.

The adminiſtration of Lord Bute, which began with the reign of the preſent king, and the firſt fruits of which were the unexpected peace of 1762, was very much diſliked by the nation. Bute was a Scotſman; he deprived a number of the Engliſh of their employments to beſtow them on his own countrymen; and this inconſiderate behaviour added to the general diſcontent. Wilkes was at that time a member of the Houſe of Commons, a dignity which he had been honoured with in former parliaments. He poſſeſſed a ſound judgment, an enlightened underſtanding, a profound knowledge of the rights of his country, a courage and a firmneſs not to be overcome: but unluckily, he wanted a quality of great importance in a member of parliament, he was but an indifferent orator. After having ſpent a conſiderable fortune, he ſolicited a lucrative office. Two ſuch places had particularly fixed his attention; he deſired either to be made

governor

governor of the American colonies, or ambaſſador to the Porte. He aſked them of Lord Bute, who promiſed them, but did not keep his word. This conduct irritated Wilkes, and as he wrote infinitely better than he ſpoke, he ſeized the pen, and took advantage, with much ability, of the diſpoſitions of the people at that time diſaffected, to attack the miniſtry. This was almoſt the ſole purpoſe of the periodical paper called the North Briton. The ſubject was ample; and the ill-adviſed conduct of Lord Bute furniſhed him with materials. That miniſter burned with a deſire of revenge, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to gratify it, which ſoon occurred.

The ſpeeches made by the king to the parliament are always the compoſition of the miniſter. They are previouſly read and conſidered by the Cabinet Council, ſo that, though ſpoken by the king, they are always held to be the ſpeeches of the miniſter. The king, in communicating the peace of 1762 to his parliament, made uſe of theſe expreſſions, "After having, in concert with the king of Pruſſia, our good brother, ſigned the treaty of peace." Every one, who is in the leaſt converſant in the political affairs of thoſe times, knows how that peace was concerted; it was an anecdote generally known in England, and accordingly Wilkes did not heſitate to

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ſay in the North Briton, that the above words were a lie. Immediately Lord Bute, on pretence that this was an attack upon the king himſelf, made Wilkes be ſent to the Tower. He followed the example of many miniſters before him, who had committed ſimilar acts of authority, but with this difference, that the crime had always been high treaſon. In obedience to the *habeas corpus* act, it was neceſſary to determine, in the proſecution to be raiſed againſt him, whether the impriſonment was legal; and this was done a few days afterwards. All England was intereſted in the affair, becauſe the rights of each individual citizen were concerned in its iſſue. Wilkes, the champion of the nation, defended by the firſt and moſt celebrated lawyers of the kingdom, preſented himſelf before his judges, accompanied by an innumerable multitude of people, who waited, with impatience, the iſſue of this intereſting deciſion. The judgment was in favour of Wilkes; he was acquitted of the accuſation brought againſt him; and the two miniſters, the Lords Egremont and Halifax, who had ſigned the order for his commitment, were adjudged to pay a pecuniary fine of L. 5000.

They had proceeded ſo far as to ſeize his papers and to examine them. Wilkes, the moment he was at liberty, went to the firſt Juſtice of Peace, (Juſtice Fielding,) to ſolicit a warrant

warrant for the ſeizure of the two Secretaries of State, whom he denominated robbers who had pillaged his houſe. His demand was refuſed, but the boldneſs of the ſtep gained him credit. In the mean time, ſome papers, found in his poſſeſſion, gave an opportunity to his enemies, who were but too powerful, to inſtitute a proſecution againſt him, when he, not chuſing to abide the iſſue of it, left the kingdom. He travelled for ſome time in France and Italy. His enemies took advantage of his abſence to have him found guilty, and a majority of the court-party in the Houſe of Commons, voted his expulſion from parliament, and his incapacity of being elected in future.

In the mean time, Wilkes being in want of money, and perſecuted by his foreign creditors, found himſelf at laſt obliged to return to his country. He re-appeared in London, having formed a plan of all others the moſt bold and aſpiring. The prudence and firmneſs with which he put it in execution were crowned with the moſt complete ſucceſs. His firſt ſtep was to appear before the Court in which he had been tried, where he received the ſentence of a two-years impriſonment in the King's Bench. He ſubmitted and ſurrendered himſelf, but the populace would not ſuffer him to be carried to priſon, and they at laſt forced him to take refuge in a tavern.

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His deſign was to wait there till the tumult ſhould be appeaſed, but the Houſe was as it were beſieged, and the populace, far from diſperſing, increaſed hourly. It was now night, and Wilkes, faithful to his plan, put in practice an expedient hitherto unheard of in ſuch a caſe. People have often diſguiſed themſelves in order to eſcape from priſon, but I believe never any before diſguiſed themſelves to get into it. This expedient Wilkes fell upon, and thus arrived in the King's Bench.

That priſon, ſituated in St George's Fields, was ſurrounded next day by an incredible multitude, who ſeemed diſpoſed to raſe it to the foundation, in order to reſcue their favourite. This project was juſt about to be put in execution, when Wilkes ſhewed himſelf at a window, and prevented it by prayers and intreaties. The tumult, however, was not quite appeaſed till the arrival of a troop of ſoldiers, who put a period to this ſtrange ſcene by the blood of ſome of the crowd. A lad of mean extraction, named *Allen*, was killed. His death, which in any other country would hardly have been mentioned in the news of the day, was conſidered as a matter of public concern. The people were enraged, the better ſort murmured, the miniſters trembled, and even the king himſelf was vexed at this cataſtrophe. Meanwhile, Wilkes lived very peaceably in priſon.

He received daily a great many viſits; perſons of the firſt rank and moſt diſtinguiſhed merit came to ſee him, and to offer him their ſervices. He ceaſed to be in want, and the Society of the Bill of Rights paid all the debts he had contracted in England, which were very conſiderable. He was too, at the ſame inſtant, elected repreſentative in parliament for the county of Middleſex.

His detention, in 1770, was a ſignal for new troubles. The Houſe of Commons, who conſidered him as incapable of being elected, had received Colonel Luttrel, another candidate, in his ſtead, for whom a very inferior number of freeholders had voted. This was an attack on the fundamental conſtitution of the ſtate; for the whole legiſlative body, much leſs the Houſe of Commons alone, cannot reject a perſon who has been choſen by a majority of votes. Relying on the juſtice of his cauſe, Wilkes refuſed to acquieſce in the judgment of the Houſe of Commons, at that time abhorred by the whole nation, and inſulted it in the moſt flagrant manner. I ſhall have occaſion to enter more at large into this matter hereafter. It would have been eaſy for him to have taken his ſeat in the Houſe, and to have maintained himſelf there at the head of an hundred thouſand of his adherents. The conſequence of ſuch a violent ſtep would have been very dif-

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ferent from that of the enterprise undertaken by the madman Lord George Gordon, whose party was only composed of the dregs of the people; while Wilkes had on his side the greatest and most respectable part of the nation, and even one-third of that very House of Commons which he opposed. Some of his friends too advised him to proceed to such extremities; he did not, however, listen to them, but waited patiently the election of a new parliament.

Notwithstanding all the efforts of the ministry, Wilkes was made, during these transactions, Sheriff of the county of Middlesex, invested with the dignity of an Alderman of London, and at last, in 1774, chosen Lord Mayor of that great city. His ambition was satisfied, but the essential part of his plan remained still incomplete; he was poor; he wanted a place, and he procured it. In 1778 he was elected to the lucrative office of Chamberlain of the city of London. This office, which is for life, satisfied at last this truly singular man. If a plan, wisely concerted, prosecuted with no common talents, with astonishing courage and fortitude, and brought to perfect maturity, by a steadiness and perseverance which nothing could discourage; if all this, I say, can entitle a man to the admiration of the world, Wilkes has certainly acquired it by the most sacred rights. He

might have become, had he pleaſed, the Catiline of his country, but he would not; he choſe rather to become its benefactor; and in more than one inſtance, he was really ſo. In that dreadful tumult occaſioned by Lord George Gordon, at a time when the miniſters trembled, and remained inactive, when the magiſtrates durſt not venture out of their houſes, he was ſeen preſenting himſelf before that unprincipled rabble, and braving death, in order to preſerve the bank, which they were about to pillage. Prayers, repreſentations, and threats, he ſucceſſively made uſe of; and even carried his intrepidity ſo far as to ſeize ſome of the ringleaders. This bold and patriotic action, in ſuch circumſtances, reſtored to him the favour of his ſovereign, who had borne him for twenty years a mortal hatred; and he is now one of the moſt zealous adherents of Pitt's miniſtry.

In the year 1771, when Wilkes was ſtill but an alderman, the Lord Mayor Croſby had that ſingular diſpute with the Houſe of Commons, which, if faithfully related, will more effectually characteriſe the conſtitution, the manners and opinions of the Engliſh, than whole volumes on the ſame ſubject. Let us conſider this anecdote attentively, and then, far from imagining that it makes a part of the hiſtory of our own age, we will much rather

her be tempted to think ourſelves tranſported by a magical power into fairy land, or into thoſe times of happy memory, in which Rome and Greece ſhone forth in all their ſplendor. This event, like the greater part of thoſe that concern England, has never been known in Germany but by means of the Gazettes, and conſequently in a very imperfect manner. I ſhall here relate the particulars of it, and the faithful detail I ſhall give, will be a new proof that the information we receive with regard to that iſland, which is ſituated ſo near us, is always very imperfect.

In the year 1771, a certain publication was in vogue, which gave offence to the Houſe of Commons. Orders were therefore given to a Serjeant at Arms to arreſt two printers from whoſe preſs it had iſſued. This perſon, who was of ſome conſideration, repaired to the city where the two printers lived, with the deſign of exeeuting the orders he had received. According to his inſtructions, there was no formality to be obſerved, although the laws prohibit the execution of a perſonal arreſt within the city, if the warrant is not previouſly read and ſigned by the Lord Mayor of London. One of the two printers allowed himſelf to be taken into cuſtody without making the leaſt reſiſtance. Now the laws direct, that a perſon thus arreſted ſhall

be immediately carried before a Juſtice o Peace, or to the houſe of a magiſtrate, if it happens in a town where there are magiſtrates, that they may judge of the validity of the arreſt. The ſerjeant, without dreaming of diſobeying the law, as his order flowed from a part of the legiſlative body, repaired immediately with his priſoner to Guildhall, the town-houſe. Wilkes and Oliver were that day the ſitting aldermen. The printer appeared, and the warrant of arreſt was preſented to them, who, not finding the ſubſcription of the Lord Mayor to it, declared it invalid, and the printer was ſet at liberty. Wilkes aſked him as he was going away, if he had any thing to aſk, but not having preſence of mind, he anſwered that he had nothing. Upon leaving the place, the ſerjeant reſolved to try whether he ſhould have better ſucceſs with the other printer. He hoped, as it was near dinner time, and that the aldermen were about to finiſh their ſitting, that at his return he would find a judge more reſpectful and more ſubmiſſive to the orders of the Houſe of Commons than the audacious Wilkes.

Full of this idea, he repaired to the houſe of the ſecond printer; but he, more verſed in forms than his companion, demanded a ſight of the warrant, when, obſerving that the ſignature of the Lord Mayor was wanting,

ing, he treated the ſerjeant as a perſon who meant to offer violence to him in his own houſe, without any legal authority, and therefore he had him taken into cuſtody by a conſtable. Now there is a ſecond proceſſion to Guildhall; the printer is now the accuſer, carrying with him as a culprit a ſerjeant of the Houſe of Commons, and attended by a multitude whom curioſity had drawn together. The aldermen were not there; they had gone to the Manſion-houſe, where they were relating what had happened to the Lord Mayor when the other proceſſion arrived.

Croſby was a bold man, but his knowledge was limited. He had obtained the mayoralty on account of his ſeniority and great wealth. He was alſo a member of parliament, but by no means an orator. His ambition was moderate, and ſo was his patriotiſm. His advanced age made him wiſh for repoſe, and he had no inclination to breed a ſquabble. The iſſue of this affair would probably have been very different, if he had been at liberty to follow his own opinion; but circumſtances forced him, in ſome meaſure, to act in concert with the two magiſtrates, his colleagues, who were then with him. Wilkes and Oliver were the moſt zealous ſupporters of liberty in the whole court of aldermen. We have already given a ſketch of the character of Wilkes. Oliver, alſo a mem-

ber

ber of parliament, equalled him in patriotiſm. He was a man of untainted honour, and of a noble mind. Directed by them; Croſby admitted the printer to an audience, the ſerjeant was ſent to priſon, where, however, he did not remain long, but was, agreeable to the laws, diſcharged upon bail.

This act of authority made a great noiſe. Croſby, Oliver, and Wilkes, were ſummoned to attend the Houſe of Commons. The two firſt obeyed, and were conducted to Weſtminſter, with a ſplendor which put all London in the greateſt agitation. I was an eye-witneſs of this ſcene, which I will not pretend to deſcribe. Every inhabitant of the place was in motion. The ſhops were ſhut, the citizens poured forth into the ſtreets to accompany thoſe two magiſtrates, whoſe coaches were drawn by their fellow-citizens, amidſt the acclamations of an innumerable multitude. Some hundreds of carriages, in which were perſons of the firſt rank, likewiſe attended. Wilkes himſelf accompanied his two colleagues to the door of the parliament-houſe, but did not enter. As they perſiſted in refuſing him his ſeat in the Houſe as a member, he would not appear.

In the mean time, the immenſe crowd that ſurrounded the entrance to the Houſe received Croſby and Oliver, either with acclamations

tions of joy, or with hooting and hiſſing, according as they were inclined to the ſide of the court or of the people. Lord North, the author of theſe proceedings in parliament, was juſtly apprehenſive, and had ordered a guard of ſoldiers; but that troop, though conſiſting of two hundred, was a very feeble defence againſt an innumerable and mutinous populace. North, who found how important it was for him to be preſent in the Houſe on ſuch an occaſion, got into a mean carriage, accompanied by a ſingle domeſtic out of livery, hoping thus to pierce through the crowd without being noticed. His ſtratagem did not ſucceed: he was known as he deſcended at the door. The people immediately fell upon his carriage, ſtopt the horſes, and a cry aroſe on all ſides of, *kill him, kill him!* His carriage was broken over his head, and he himſelf dragged out from under the ruins. The life of this perſon, whoſe birth England will long regret, at that moment hung by a ſingle thread; but deſtiny had decreed that he ſhould live ſtill for the misfortune of thouſands of his fellow-creatures. The guards made their way to him, and, aided by two of his ſervants, who generouſly covered him with their own bodies, reſcued him from inevitable death.

Thus did North eſcape the deſtiny of the unhappy de Witt, and entered, all diſ-

figured,

figured, and hardly to be known, into the Houſe. He began by relating, with tears in his eyes, his ſad adventure, and in that hypocritical tone, which had ſo well ſucceeded with the perfidious Cromwell, he called God to witneſs his innocence, and the purity of his intentions: he ſaid, that having no aim but the good of his country, he had a claim to the gratitude of his fellow-citizens., &c. &c. In this ſtate of anxiety and of grief, trembling with the dread of ſeeing the ſcene renewed he had juſt eſcaped, he propoſed to the members accuſed, to repair, by an apology, the pretended irregularity of their conduct; affirming that, however ſlight it might be, it would not fail to be accepted. Oliver rejected the propoſition in a tone of the moſt ſovereign contempt; adding, that, to expect an apology from thoſe who had maintained the rights of their fellow-citizens, was to affront them; and that North and his adherents ought much rather to think of means for excuſing their own proceedings to the nation. Croſby gave the ſame anſwer with Oliver, and thoſe worthy magiſtrates were, by a majority of votes, found guilty of contempt, and ordered to be ſent to the Tower.

In the mean time, the people ſtill continued in crowds at the door of the Houſe; and they had, as night approached, provided themſelves with lights and torches; it was not

therefore

therefore difficult to tranſport Croſby and Oliver to the place of their deſtination. Croſby, dreadfully tormented with a fit of the gout, waited till midnight; but, ſeeing no probability of the people retiring, he took the reſolution of getting into his carriage, attended by a ſerjeant of the Houſe. Although the people did not know this man, they had ſome ſuſpicions of him, and inſiſted on his deſcending. In vain did Croſby aſſure them that he was one of his friends: they would not be convinced, and he was forced to get out. Croſby went home, and the people having diſperſed, he went early in the morning to the Tower, where Oliver ſoon joined him.

The Tower is not, like the Baſtile, a frightful priſon; it reſembles rather a little town where there are traders and artificers of every kind. Many people live there, and the houſes too are very commodious. Croſby and Oliver hired each a ſmall houſe, and the numerous viſits of their friends did not allow them leiſure to perceive that they were priſoners.

I am not afraid, likewiſe, of affirming that the extraordinary honours they received made their detention there the moſt brilliant æra in their lives. All the wards of the town voted them addreſſes. The deputies,

accompanied

accompanied by a vaſt number of carriages, having a ſpeaker at their head, repaired to the Tower in order to return thanks, firſt to Croſby, and then to Oliver, in the name of the whole nation, for having ſo couragiouſly defended the rights of the citizen, and for having generouſly made a ſacrifice of themſelves in the common cauſe. Theſe ſingular proceſſions never ceaſed; no ſooner did one go away, than another came. Sometimes you might have ſeen five, ſix, and even more in one day. Add to theſe the innumerable addreſſes of thanks voted by counties, cities, ſocieties, corporations, &c. ſeveral of which were accompanied with the freedom of the particular town, or with conſiderable preſents. The city of London gave them two large golden cups, with the arms of the city engraved on each.

A philoſophical eye ſurely cannot contemplate but with admiration that fervour, that patriotic enthuſiaſm, which laſted for three weeks together, after the parliament was prorogued. By the laws of the country, when the parliament is not ſitting, it loſes its power; no law, therefore, no power exiſted to detain the priſoners longer in the Tower. They accordingly reſtored themſelves to liberty; and I muſt confeſs that this will appear ſingular. But the extreme ſolemnity attending the act was more ſingular

ſtill,

ſtill, and what perhaps had never before happened. Let it be remembered, that what I am about to relate did not happen in a remote county, but in the reſidence of a powerful king; that his miniſters, whoſe authority is very great, were the enemies and perſecutors of the two priſoners, and that the matter to be tranſacted was no tumult, no revolt, but a public proceeding which the laws, ſo far from interdicting, ſeemed to authoriſe.

The magiſtrates of London, in their robes, and all thoſe that were concerned with the magiſtracy, the ſheriffs of the county of Middleſex, the livery, accompanied with all the militia of London, and with an innumerable crowd of perſons of diſtinction, of every age and condition, repaired at noon to the Tower, amidſt the beating of drums, and the ſound of trumpets, to receive the two priſoners.

All the carriages in London ſeemed to have been collected together, and all the ſtreets which lead to the Tower for a mile round were crowded with them: there were, beſides, a prodigious number of people on horſeback. Every thing was ſplendid; and Croſby, with the enſigns of his office, carried before him, was drawn in the ſtate-coach decorated with all the emblems and ſymbols of liberty. In this manner he proceeded to the

manſion-houſe, amidſt the ringing of bells, the beating of drums, and other inſtruments of war: he was likewiſe ſaluted with the firing of cannon from the artillery ground, which, as well as a numerous company of artillery, belongs to the city. All the women of London were at the windows towards the ſtreets through which this patriotic proceſſion paſſed, they waved their handkerchiefs and ſaluted the magiſtrates; the acclamations of the people were ſo loud, and ſo continued, that they almoſt drowned the noiſe of the bells, and of the artillery. The general enthuſiaſm wanted ways to ſhew itſelf. I heard ſome of the common people crying, *O bleſſed day!* others, *Who knows if we or our children ſhall ever ſee ſuch worthy men rewarded in ſo noble a manner!* I even ſaw ſome ſhedding tears of joy, and exemplifying the ſprightly remark of the celebrated Shafteſbury, that enthuſiaſm is an epidemical diſeaſe, which, like a fever, ſpreads far and wide. I ſhall never forget the memorable ſcene; I ſhall ever hold it ſacred, and, to my laſt ſigh, it ſhall be engraven on my memory in indelible characters. In the evening of the ſame day all the houſes in London were illuminated; that ſplendid ſhow, it is true, gave occaſion to many exceſſes by the populace: the miniſters themſelves were compelled to illuminate their windows, to avoid more diſagreeable conſequences.

Wilkes,

Wilkes, in the mean-while, had vindicated himſelf for not appearing in the Houſe by a moſt daring letter: he ſpoke of the court-party, and of the Houſe of Commons with the greateſt contempt. The letter was read in a full Houſe, but it was thought adviſeable not to proceed to extremities againſt that extraordinary man; accordingly he had not the honour of keeping company with his two friends in the Tower. This anecdote, with many others, proves evidently that Lord North is far from being an able miniſter. He knew his enemy, and yet he did not heſitate to allow the authority of parliament to be brought into queſtion, and to be violated with impunity; which made Lord Chatham ſay openly in the Houſe, "Wilkes hath ſhewn you that he is your lord and maſter."

CHAP. III.

THE ſouthern part of Great Britain is almoſt wholly a flat country, having but few hills. If we except the principality of Wales and a few of the northern counties, the whole of that great iſland reſembles a garden adorned with pictureſque views and romantic proſpects, which do not yield to many of thoſe that are ſo much admired in Italy. The comfortable circumſtances of the inhabitants, the cleanneſs and neatneſs of their dwellings, even in the ſmalleſt cottages, the fine roads, a fertile and well-cultivated ſoil, all theſe objects united, form a whole, which the moſt inſenſible obſerver is forced to admire. The greateſt inconveniencies which have been attributed to this iſland, are the inſalubrity of its air, and the indiſpenſable uſe of pit-coal. The climate, it is true, is ſubject to frequent variations; but, in general, the weather is very tolerable both in ſummer and in winter. The climate cannot, with any juſtice, be called unwholeſome. I do not conſider as a proof of the contrary, that ſome rich Engliſhmen, who are fond of change and diſſipation, migrate to the ſouth of France for ſome time, in order to ſcatter their guineas, or to recruit their finances,

which

which have been exhauſted in their own country, in a place where every thing is cheap. As the occaſion of ſuch journies does not flatter their ſelf-love, they diſguiſe it by alledging the inſalubrity of their own air. As to Engliſhmen who have ſpent a part of their life in the Indies, and who, conſequently, have been habituated to the influence of a warm ſun, it is natural that they ſhould be extremely ſenſible to the different effects of heat and cold, and that the air of Provence ſhould be more ſalutary to them than that of England. This was the reaſon that induced Lord Clive to ſpend two years at Montpellier. He long vainly hoped to get rid, under that genial ſky, of the hypochondriacal humours that tormented him. But he brought them back with him to England, where they were changed into a deep melancholy, which gaining ground by degrees, conſtrained him at laſt to rid himſelf of it, and of his exiſtence together. Notwithſtanding the precautions taken by his family to conceal the manner of his death, every body was ſoon informed of it; ſoon learned that Clive, the conqueror and the ſcourge of India, had hanged himſelf in his chamber. I ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſpeak at greater length of this perſon, unfortunately ſo celebrated. But what proves more clearly how little the air of England and the uſe of pit-coal are noxious to health, is the great number of old people to

be found there. Upon examining the liſts of deaths, one is ſurpriſed to find that the number of old people is as great, and even greater, *cæteris paribus*, than in any other country of Europe. How many old people do we not find living healthily in London, where the conſumption of pit-coal is enormous, but never complained of? Neither can it be ſaid that it injures the complexion of the women, ſince the Engliſh ladies are allowed to be the faireſt in Europe.

The mortality, which has at all times been ſo little remarkable in the country of England, is another proof of the ſalubrity of the climate. Add to this the happy temper, the vigour, the intrepidity, and the continual activity of the people. All carpenters, blackſmiths, farriers, miners, porters, and peaſants, are exceedingly robuſt and healthy. Charles the II. who had viſited the greateſt part of Europe, was wont to ſay, " Notwithſtanding " the inconveniencies and inconſtancy of the " weather in my native country, it is certain " that there is not in Europe any other cli- " mate in which one can be abroad more " hours in the day, or more days in the year." Inundations, that ſcourge of ſo many other countries, are unknown in England. Violent ſtorms, earthquakes, and famine, are likewiſe unheard-of calamities.

The

The grafs in England is of incomparable beauty; it has the fineft green colour, and is extremely delicate. Hence comes the taſte for thoſe beautiful grafs walks which are ſmoothed and made reſplendent by means of a large ſtone rolled over the ground: theſe walks are often ſo level, that they can play at bowls upon them as on a billiard-table. This is a favourite game with the Engliſh, even with thoſe of diſtinguiſhed rank. The whole country is adorned with parks remarkable for their ſituation or pictureſque views: almoſt at every ſtep we meet with alleys of fruit trees, leading to elegant villages, the inhabitants of which are well fed, well cloathed, and evidently appear to be in a ſtate of the greateſt proſperity and plenty: ſufficiently demonſtrating, that their country is the land of wealth, of liberty, and of induſtry. We do not find, however, in the whole iſland, any company, or even any individual, whoſe duty it is to animate this precious induſtry, or to give a higher degree of encouragement to agriculture, arts, or manufactures. As no individual is limited in his rights, or diſturbed in his poſſeſſions, all theſe things proceed naturally of themſelves. To the ſame cauſes muſt be attributed the proſperity of Holland. However inſtructive an example theſe two States may afford us, we would nevertheleſs be inclined to ſuppoſe, when we conſider the conduct of almoſt all the potentates of Europe,

that

that they had entered into a conſpiracy to annihilate the ſpirit of induſtry in their dominions; an induſtry ſo uſeful and ſo neceſſary to the greatneſs of a State. Not long ago an Engliſh miniſter, in order to increaſe the number of his creatures, formed the ſcheme of eſtabliſhing a ſchool, in order to train the youth to foreign commerce. The project was ſet on foot; but commerce, far from gaining, actually loſt ground the moment theſe teachers began to give leſſons. Authentic proofs of this were produced, and the inſtitution was aboliſhed in the year 1782. The Engliſh Tacitus, Gibbon, was one of the members of the inſtitution.

The ſhores of the Thames, from Graveſend to London, are planted with towns and villages, the banks of the river are covered with a prodigious number of carpenters and other tradeſmen, who labour inceſſantly in the conſtruction of ſhips of every ſize and ſhape. The river is covered with innumerable veſſels, which are diſperſed or heaped together in crowds on the ſhores as far as London-bridge. The great activity which reigns among theſe workmen, preſents a moſt agreeable ſpectacle. Some hundreds of men live ſolely by the different occupations they are employed in at the port. The coal trade gives bread to thouſands; the conſumpt of this article is inconceivable. I have ſeen a fleet of ninety-

two ſail arrive from Newcaſtle in one day, and was aſſured that ſuch a number was by no means extraordinary. The day-labourers, who land the coals from on board the barks, ſometimes earn nine ſhillings a day. Theſe valuable coal-mines at Newcaſtle were only diſcovered in the fifteenth century, and at preſent they are worth mines of gold. The trade in this article, ſo neceſſary to Great Britain, encreaſes every day, and has been even doubled ſince the year 1700.

This perceptible aggrandiſement of the great towns is almoſt general in England. The increaſe of London is diſcouraged for many good reaſons; but its greatneſs muſt be attributed to the population of the other towns in its neighbourhood, the flouriſhing ſtate of which is daily increaſing. I need not heſitate to name the town of Stockton, which, one hundred years ago, was only a village, and ſent, in the year 1744, ſeventy veſſels to London; at preſent there come from it more than a hundred: the town of Dorcheſter furniſhed 600,000 ſheep in the year 1778. The ſhipping of Liverpool, Hull, Briſtol and Plymouth, becomes every day more conſiderable. Neither have the revolutions in commerce, nor the loſs of the American poſſeſſions, had any fatal conſequences with regard to manufactures. The ſingle town of Exeter, in 1779, ſold goods of its own fabrication to the amount

amount of a million ſterling; a ſum that ſeems almoſt incredible. Navigation, trade, and manufactures, have attained equal ſplendor and increaſe in Scotland. Edinburgh, Glaſgow, and Aberdeen, and ſeveral other towns, produce excellent manufactures. The Scots formerly neglected the herring fiſhery; they abandoned it to the Dutch, who came annually to gather this lucrative article on the Scottiſh ſhores; but they have now learnt to avail themſelves of this valuable traffic. The ſingle town of Inverneſs employs in it 500 veſſels and 3000 men. Some of the neighbouring towns likewiſe partake of this traffic. The city of Glaſgow alone exports anually 30,000 barrels. The ſalmon fiſhery is alſo carried on with equal ſpirit. Aberdeen ſends every year 100 quintals to London, and Yarmouth 90. I might conſiderably increaſe this enumeration, if I could do it without tranſgreſſing the plan I have preſcribed to myſelf in this work. Many naturaliſts are perſuaded, that the county of Southampton, where the air is pure and the climate warm, might produce the fineſt fruit-trees, figs, and vines. In the Philoſophical Tranſactions, there is a letter from Henry Barham to Sir Hans Sloane, written in 1719, where he affirms, that at Chelſea, he made ſome ſilk, which connoiſſeurs judged to be equal to that of Piedmont. It is certain that the vine was cultivated in England formerly. That famous old document,

dooms-

dooms-day book, ſays expreſsly, that before the Norman conqueſt, wine was made in Eſſex.

It is not long ſince this valuable antiquity was firſt diſcovered. It goes back to the time of William the Conqueror, and contains a circumſtantial detail of the ſtate which that monarch cauſed to be made of all the productions of the country, of its demeſnes, fiefs, revenues, &c. It is very difficult to decypher this ancient document; the language is a mixture of old French and old German, and it is written, beſides, in Gothic characters. There are, accordingly, but a few learned men who can read the manuſcript. The Engliſh conſidered it for a long time as a book of hieroglyphics; a few ſentences of it, however, had been made out when Raſpe arrived in England, into whoſe hands it came. That illuſtrious ſcholar, who had ſpent ſo much time and labour in the German libraries, was well calculated to undo this Gordian knot, and he gave the moſt excellent proofs of his ſkill. The government wiſhed to know more particularly the contents of this ſingular monument; but as many of the firſt families of the kingdom might be intereſted in the explanation in one way or another, it was not thought adviſeable to entruſt it to a foreigner. A learned Engliſhman was therefore preferred to Raſpe, on whoſe aſſiſtance he a good deal re-

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lied in undertaking the important and laborious taſk; but unfortunately they differed, and doomſday-book was not tranſlated.

Engliſh induſtry has often received a new ſpur to its activity, by means of my German countrymen. One Spielman conſtructed, in England, under Queen Elizabeth, the firſt paper-mill. Gottfried Box, another German, likewiſe in 1590, built the firſt mill for iron wire, and another for plates of copper. In the reign of the ſame Queen, another German conſtructed the firſt mill for gun-powder. At preſent, the beſt book-binder in London, a famous artiſt in his way, and who has never yet had his equal, is a German. My country likewiſe, ſome years ago, had almoſt taken from the Engliſh the honour of poſſeſſing the ableſt mechanic in clock-work, an art which they have carried to the higheſt degree of perfection, and of gaining the reward which the parliament had aſſigned to the perſon who ſhould conſtruct the beſt watch for diſcovering the longitude at ſea. The reward for this uſeful diſcovery was L. 20,000. Many able artiſts, animated by the allurement of honour and of gain, undertook it; but Harriſon, an Engliſhman, carried off from them both the one and the other. It is, however, probable, that a German clock-maker, called Thiele de Breme, would have diſappointed him, had that able artiſt arrived in England

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with his watch, before the payment of the reward, for, in the opinion of the Engliſh themſelves, it was of a conſtruction infinitely more ingenious, and more likely to anſwer the purpoſe than Harriſon's.

It is inconceivable how much, and in how many different ways induſtry is encouraged in this country. Without reckoning the immenſe ſums which the Parliament every year gives away as rewards, new premiums are continually propoſed. Patriotic ſocieties which labour with admirable and indefatigable zeal for the public good, follow the example of Parliament. The moſt numerous in Europe is the Society of Arts; it was founded in 1753 by William Shipley, and in 1784, conſiſted of ſix thouſand ſeven hundred members; perſons of the higheſt rank are proud of belonging to it. Each member pays two guineas annually to the general fund; and thus a ſum is collected ſufficient for the diſtribution of many, and ſome pretty conſiderable premiums. Theſe are always given to ſuch perſons as have been the authors of uſeful inventions, or who have brought the diſcoveries of others to a higher degree of perfection. The amount of the premium is decided by a plurality of votes. This ſociety holds its meetings once a week, in a large and elegant houſe built for the purpoſe.

They are seldom composed of more than two hundred members, the others who do not attend, contributing however to the laudable purposes of the institution. It cannot be doubted that this is the real and only motive of the members, for there are no titles or other marks of distinction annexed to the office. Lord Romney was many years president of this society. One of its chief aims is the encouragement of agriculture, and it maintains a perpetual correspondence with persons of all rank and conditions, who communicate to it, every plan of improvement, and the result of every experiment, whether successful or not. Another society was instituted in the year 1772 in Brecknockshire, a county situated in the principality of Wales. The members of this society are all equal, and preside by rotation. Their objects are agriculture in all its branches, the establishment of linen manufactures in the county, and the improvement of those of wool. It likewise takes care that the high roads be kept in proper repair, and that new ones where necessary, are made; in short, its objects are to give to the industry of the county, a higher degree of activity and extension.

It is to a single individual that England is indebted for its internal navigation: it was only begun in 1759, and now all the

rivers and ſtreams of the iſland are covered with boats. This benefactor of his country is the duke of Bridgewater, who has immortaliſed himſelf, by the conſtruction of a canal, an enterpriſe which would have done honour to a great king. He was only twenty one years of age, when he conceived this deſign, worthy of the ſpirit of ancient Rome. This artificial river unites the two large towns of Liverpool and Manchester. It runs ſometimes accoſs immenſe rocks dug through, ſometimes it loſes itſelf under ground, and makes a thouſand windings in a ſubterraneous courſe of eight miles: then ſuddenly emerging, it ſeems ſuſpended in the air, traverſes on ſtupenduous arches, the whole breadth of the river Wyvil, ſo that the ſpectator can often enjoy the proſpect of a boat ſailing on the river, and of another which croſſes it, and ſeems to fly in the atmoſphere.

An Engliſhman of the name of Wedgewood, built a town in Staffordſhire, and called it Etruria, a name it merited on account of the elegant works of the Etruſcan kind, fabricated in a moſt immenſe manufactury of earthen ware, and remarkable for the perfect ſhapes given to vaſes and other pieces of the like nature. Wedgewood realiſed an ingenious and new idea, and it is ſurpriſing that it did not occur be-

fore to the manufacturers of porcelaine. He took for the model of his operations, the moſt perfect works of Etruria and of Greece that have reached us, and which are now conſtantly the objects of admiration at Florence, Rome, and Naples. He poſſeſſes the moſt accurate deſigns of all the maſterpieces of this kind, which Italy hath reſcued from the ſcythe of time, and employs them with much taſte in his manufacture. A great part of his vaſes and other earthern veſſels are gilt, and others enamelled. He maintains a great number of workmen, and has made in a few years a large fortune.

It was in 1771, that Cox engaged in an enterpriſe that though extraordinary was not leſs ſucceſsfully executed. He knew that the Princes of Aſia were exceſſively fond of our pieces of mechaniſm; but he knew likewiſe that they were no leſs delighted with gold, and ſilver, and precious ſtones. The ornaments of their palaces, though of theſe materials, were extremely rude. His deſign was to join the magic of art, to the impoſing ſplendor of riches. A conſiderable fortune added to an acute and inventive genius, furniſhed him with the means. The moſt able mechanics of England and of France, jewellers, watch-makers, goldſmiths, &c. were invited to furniſh him

with their masterpieces in the various arts. Whatever he received, was the production of the greatest care, and the most elaborate art; and he soon found himself in possession of a number of the richest, and most masterly performances of mechanism, all unique in their kinds. Cox was determined to transport this Museum entire to Asia; he however retained it for nine years in London, where he showed it for half a guinea from each person. I saw it often and always with increased admiration. Never was taste and magnificence, the whole art of mechanics and the magic of optics united to such a degree of perfection. The eye saw nothing but gold and silver and precious stones, which under the form of animals were in motion, and seemed alive; birds of different colours were swimming in a lake, game hunting in a wood; camels, elephants, and other Asiatic animals were represented in miniature with the most scrupulous exactness. The most precious performance in this astonishing collection was a castle, six feet in height; one would have thought that, to construct the outside of it, all that the imagination of the most fanciful poet could invent to adorn the palace of the fairies, had been exhausted. Gold and silver were the least valuable parts of this superb piece of workmanship, which cost more than an hundred thousand pounds Sterling. The

present Emperor of China had a similar one from Cox, which is placed near his throne in the great hall of audience at Pekin. This was intended for the great Mogul. But the enormous debts which the ingenious artist was obliged to contract, the interest of which alone amounted to a considerable sum, unfortunately prevented him from fully realising his designs. Only a part of his collection was sent to India, the rest was sold in London. Thus the hope of forming a new branch of commerce with Asia, was disappointed perhaps for ever. Not only England but many other countries would have reaped the benefit of such a commerce.

Doctor Graham, a Scotsman, in my day furnished a new proof of the enterprising genius of the nation, with his *celestial bed*, which cost him sixty thousand pounds sterling. The idea of it was original and singular in the highest degree. A man rich enough to live comfortably at home, forsakes his native country, and gives his whole fortune among strangers, to satisfy the cravings of his imagination. He founded his happiness on a perfect knowledge of the human heart; the success of his undertaking, and the amusement it procured him, proved that he had calculated with judgement. He had too much sense not to be suspected of being a dupe to the occult influence

which he professed; and he must therefore be classed in the numerous list of cunning and politic adventurers. He called his house the Temple of Health, where, as High Priest of that rosy goddess, he asserted he had joined the useful with the agreeable, the charms of luxury to the precious mysteries of his art. Nothing indeed was more superb than this Temple: the electric fire, managed with judgement, ascended in radiating streams; transparent glasses of every different colour, chosen and placed with taste; rich vases filled with the rarest perfumes, which while they gently awakened desire, filled the soul with a soft langour, were the first objects which presented themselves to the eyes of the curious spectator. Those objects which the sagacious proprietor shewed for nothing, excited the most ardent desire to penetrate into the interior of the Temple. And indeed how was it possible to resist the curiosity of seeing a place, the avenues to which seemed to have exhausted all the prodigies of art and genius

This new Eleusinia sold for half a guinea, at Theatre on Health, which was to teach the art of preserving fertility from one sex and impotency from the other. After a very long detail of all the preliminary and necessary preparatives for proceeding successfully

cefsfully to the great and important work of propagation, of which one of the chief was the utmoſt attention to cleanlineſs, he expreſly recommended a great moderation in the ſacrifices to Hymen. He inſiſted on the practice of retiring ſoon to reſt at night and riſing early in the morning. He adviſed likewiſe that in bed-chambers, the light, eſpecially that of the moon, ſhould not be excluded by curtains. He confeſſed he could give no ſufficient reaſon for his predilection for the lunar rays; but, ſaid he, are there not a thouſand things in nature, which exiſt without our being able to explain the reaſon of their exiſting in that particular manner? It ought not therefore to be expected that I ſhould enter into a detailed explanation of the fundamental principles of my ſyſtem. He adviſed married people to ſing ſometimes: muſic, ſays he, ſoftens the minds of a happy couple, makes them all love, all harmony, their bodies, their ſouls unite, their exiſtence is melted into a ſingle being, which lifts itſelf up with rapture to divine tranſports, and loſes itſelf in an Elyſium of bliſs. In this ſtate, this inceſſantly progreſſive enjoyment, the happy couple imagine themſelves raiſed above this world, and become inhabitants of a ſuperior region. Thus he continued till coming at laſt to the principal part of his diſcourſe: When, ſaid he,

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the preliminary regimen, which I have just prescribed, has been scrupulously observed and followed, and a new vigour has been acquired, by drinking of the divine balm, which for the benefit of the human race, I have concocted with my own hands, and which however costs only a guinea a bottle, and when all these means have not proved sufficient for arriving at the end proposed, the last must then be absolutely applied to, that most extraordinary expedient which I alone possess, and which cannot fail. This agent is a most marvellous celestial bed, which I call magnetico-electric; it is the first, the only one in the world, or that ever existed. It is placed on the second floor, in a large and elegant hall on the right hand of my orchestra, and immediately before my thundering hermitage. In a neighbouring cellar is placed a cylinder by which I communicate the celestial fire to the bed chamber, that fluid which animates and vivifies all, and those enlivening vapours, and oriental perfumes which I convey thither by means of tubes of glass. The celestial bed rests on six diamond transparent columns; coverings of purple, and curtains of celestial blue surround it, and the bed-clothes are perfumed with the most costly essences of Arabia. It is exactly similar to those that adorn the palaces in Persia, and to that of the favourite Sultana in

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the Seraglio of the Grand Turk. This bed is the fruit of the most laborious industry and of the most indefatigable zeal. I will not mention the sums it has cost me; they are immense. I shall only add that I have omitted none of those precautions which decency and delicacy have a right to exact. Neither I, nor any of my people are entitled to ask who are the persons that rest in this chamber, which I have denominated the Holy of Holies. This bed is never shewn to those who come only to view the accessory parts. This precaution is as proper as it is delicate; for is there a being frigid enough to resist the influence of that pleasure of those transports which this enchanting place inspires. It furnishes the grossest imagination with the means of refining its enjoyments, of multiplying its pleasures, and of carrying them to their highest degree: but the consequences are cruel; such dangerous refinements on the pleasures of the senses abridge the period of life, and relax the springs both of body and mind. Persons however who would penetrate to this throne of pleasures are invested to signify their desire to me in writing, and having appointed the night, and inclosed a bank bill for fifty pounds, I shall furnish them with an admission ticket."

Similar to those that adorn the palaces in Persia, and to that of the favourite Sultana in the

In a note which ſerves as a ſupplement to the deſcription of the celeſtial bed, our good Doctor adds: Nothing is more ſurpriſing than the truly divine energy of this celeſtial and electric fire, which fills every part of the bed, as well as the magnetic fluid, both of them calculated to give the neceſſary degree of ſtrength and exertion to the nerves. Beſides, the melodious tones of the harmonica, the ſoft ſounds of the flute, the charms of an agreeable voice, and the harmonious notes of the organ, being all joined, how can the power and virtue of ſuch a happy conjunction fail in raiſing ſentiments of admiration and pleaſure in the ſoul of the philoſopher, and even of the phyſician? It is the firſt time that a ſimilar means has been invented for delivering women from the misfortune of ſterility and of reſtoring to old age the fire and vigour of youth.

It would be doing them wrong to think that the Engliſh, impoſed on by the marvellous effects attributed to this bed, had any other motives for viſiting it than the exaggerations of a quack. Almoſt every one had the ſame idea of this brilliant farce, which it was natural to have. Dr Graham and certain rich voluptuaries underſtood one another perfectly. There are many of thoſe opulent iſlanders that ſquander an hundred guineas a day, and ſometimes e-

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ven more, in a tavern or bagnio, or loſe thouſands at play. Why ſhould ſuch a man, who wiſhes at any rate, to get rid of his money, heſitate in throwing away fifty pounds in order to enjoy the enebriation of his ſenſes, in a way never experienced before? Young people who are rich and newly arrived from the country, and who have only an opportunity of a ſhort time to enjoy the pleaſures of London; ſea officers; captains of privateers, who have ſuddenly got large ſums for their prizes, which they are reſolved to ſpend in a few days, becauſe their duty and their deſire for new adventures calls them ſoon to ſea; perſons who have returned from India, bending under the weight of their treaſures; young women kept by rich noblemen, who are the leſs reſtrained, as it is ſo eaſy to preſerve themſelves perfectly incog. theſe, without mentioning many other ſpendthrifts and voluptuaries were the Doctors beſt cuſtomers.

The more that this Holy of Holies began to be viſited, the more did this ſagacious high prieſt add to the voluptuous magnificence of the place. I am not ſure but there were more than two beds. Graham ſeems to have been perfectly acquainted with the human heart, and with the temper of the city he choſe to practice in. His attempt could not fail of ſucceeding; for I will

venture to affirm, that the pleaſures of the ſenſes are purſued at London, as far, if not farther, than at Paris.

Graham concluded the farce in the month of March 1784; he ſhut the temple of health, expoſed to public ſale all the furniture and apparatus he had made uſe of, the ſuperb temple of Apollo, his immenſe electrical machine, the inſtruments of muſic, that played mechanically, and the famous celeſtial bed.

Mrs Abingron, the celebrated actreſs, has likewiſe invented for herſelf an occupation quite particular. As ſhe poſſeſſes the moſt exquiſite taſte, ſhe ſpends a good part of the day in running about London to give her advice on the dreſſes, and new faſhions. She is conſulted like a phyſician and fee'd in the handſomeſt manner. There is no marriage celebrated, no entertainment given, where her aſſiſtance in regulating the decorations is not requeſted. The ſprightlineſs of her wit, and her faſhionable appearance do not a little contribute to give her this great celebrity. Many ladies of quality treat her with the familiarity of a friend. In this way, ſhe is ſaid to make annually from fifteen to ſixteen hundred pounds. As ſhe never appears on the ſtage but in her own clothes, her dreſs is remark-

able for elegance and taſte, and is much ſtudied by the female part of the ſpectators. It is there that this prieſteſs of the faſhions diſplays all her art, and ſhe is ſure of being inſtantly copied with the moſt childiſh exactneſs. As the diſciples of the ancient philoſophers impoſed ſilence on the fooliſh, by theſe words; "*The maſter hath ſaid it,*" ſo it is ſufficient in London to ſay, '*Mrs Abdington has wore this,*' to ſtop the mouths of fathers or huſbands. In her contract in 1781 with the manager of Drury Lane theatre, ſhe demanded five hundred a-year for her wardrobe; ſhe received, beſides, eighteen guineas a-week as an actreſs, together with a benefit.

In a city like London where ſo many rich fools abound, a number of dextrous rogues are neceſſarily to be expected, who, by cunning and well deviſed tricks, endeavour to appropriate to themſelves a part of the riches of the wealthy. Every thing goes well as long as they keep without the reach of the law, and hence the number of quacks who peaceably practice their arts. About fifteen years ago, a perſon appeared in London, who pretended he had the ſecret of paring the nails of the fingers, ſo as to give them the moſt elegant ſhape, and to improve the beauty of the hands. This was taking the fair by the weak ſide; the Engliſh ladies

dies were agog. This man lived in a ſuperb houſe, kept an equipage and was employed the whole day long. He lived in this ſtile for two years, made a great deal of money, and ended by ſuddenly leaving London, and three thouſand pounds of debt behind him.

Another very ſucceſsful trade in London is that of begging. It is however very rare to ſee an Engliſhman, who is not of the very dregs of the people, a beggar; while foreigners of good families, and who appear to have received a degree of education, practice that diſgraceful occupation, becauſe they can eaſily procure a living by it without being obliged to work. They do not ſtop in the ſtreets, where they would receive only ſmall money, or at moſt a piece of ſilver; but they inſinuate themſelves, decently dreſſed, into the houſes, exhibit papers and documents, which in general are forged, and receive from the good and credulous Engliſhman a handſome bounty. I knew an Italian, who had figured as a dancer on the theatre at Peterſburg, who could neither read nor write, and who having procured letters of nobleſſe from another rogue like himſelf, pretended to be a Ruſſian Colonel. On the ſtrength of this forged diploma, he entered with inconceivable impudence into the firſt houſes in London, would ſuffer

himſelf to be ſtopped by no ſervant, penetrated to the chamber of the maſter, and would not leave it without a handſome preſent. In vain did the Ruſſian Envoy expoſe the impoſture of this man; he could inform only a very ſmall number of perſons; beſides, as the Italian contented himſelf with begging, and carefully preſented his falſe patent, which alone could ſerve as a proof againſt him, it would have been very difficult to puniſh his crime. After having continued this trade for three years, he left England with a conſiderable capital, and is now a merchant at Dunkirk.

A better idea ſtill occured to a Frenchman, who made himſelf paſs for the ſon of of the unhappy Calas. The compaſſion for this unfortunate family was ſo great, that it ſoon opened to him, the doors of every houſe in London. Conſiderable preſents were made to him, and he did not leave England till he had amaſſed great wealth.

This trade which is ſo ſingularly lucrative in England, had ſo many attractions for one M. de Champigny, formerly a colonel in the ſervice of France, and who had gone to London, a ſhort time after the ſeven years war, that he reduced mendicity to a ſyſtem, with the moſt complete ſucceſs. He never went on foot, but (will it be believed?)

red?) was driven in a very brilliant equipage of his own, and frequently gave great entertainments. As he had the ſpirit and manners of a man of faſhion, he was able to carry on his trade with ſo much ability that even perſons who had not the reputation of being unuſually generous, opened their purſes to him without difficulty. If any one heſitated to confer on him the aſſiſtance he requeſted, he preſented a liſt of ſubſcribers for a large Hiſtory of England which he ſaid he was writing, and of which one or two volumes were actually printed.

The generous and compaſſionate diſpoſition of the Engliſh, the diſlike to labour ſo natural to man, crowds the ſtreets of London with beggars. Theſe idle people receive in alms, three, four, and even five ſhillings a day. They have their clubs in the pariſh of St Giles's where they meet, drink, and feed well, read the papers, and talk politics. Nobody dares intrude into their clubs, except he is a beggar introduced by one; the ſingularity of the ſpectacle would otherwiſe draw numbers of curious people about them, which would hurt the trade. One of my friends who wiſhed to obſerve minutely every order of men, put on, one day, a ragged coat, and promiſed a handſome reward to a beggar, who introduced him to his club. There he found gaiety with familiarity

familiarity, and nothing to indicate poverty but rags, the livery of the order. This one threw down his crutches in the corner of the room; that other untied a wooden leg; one took off the plaiſter from his eye, another a wig of hoary hairs; and all ſhewed themſelves in their proper form, related the adventures of the day, and formed ſchemes for the ſucceeding.

The female beggars hire children from other women, poorer ſtill than themſelves, more eaſily to move the pity of paſſengers. The price paid for ſuch infants is a ſixpence, and ſometimes even two ſhillings a-day, according as it is more or leſs likely to excite compaſſion. A child that is ſhockingly deformed, is worth four ſhillings a-day, and even more. I one day heard two beggar women talking on this trade. One of the two ſaid that ſhe paid two ſhillings for the child ſhe carried; "What! ſaid the other, are you a fool? two ſhillings for ſo fine a child as that! I would not give more for a monſter."

It is in the ſame parish of St Giles's that the pick-pockets hold their meetings. There they eat together, and exchange or ſell the ſnuff-boxes, handkerchiefs and other trifles which they have ſtolen during the day. In any other country, theſe clubs would be

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ſurrounded and taken priſoners, but this could not be done in London; for theſe rogues, not forming a body, but robbing each for himſelf, proofs againſt each individual would be neceſſary, the laws here being moſt ſcrupulouſly obſerved, even in apprehending the greateſt criminals. The thing ſtolen muſt in the firſt place be claimed by ſome perſon as his own; and even on the ſuppoſition that the officers of juſtice ſhould riſk forcing an entrance into their club, none but the thief of that article would be apprehended, his companions of the gang would be in no danger.

Theſe people however do not now meet ſo publicly as heretofore. About thirty years ago, a certain houſe in the parish of St Giles, was famous for a club held there by pick pockets; but it is now inhabited by an honeſt braſier. The knives and forks were chained to the table and the cloth nailed on. The gueſts obſerved a degree of decorum; they had regulations, and preſidents, who made thoſe regulations be obſerved, without however forming parties. But theſe regulations were ſubmitted to only at their meetings. Not far from this houſe, there was alſo a celebrated tavern or gin ſhop. An enormous ſign poſt exhibited this inſcription; "here you may get drunk for a penny, dead druuk for

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two pence, and get ſtraw for nothing." This ſingular commodity was actually in the cellars of the houſe, which neither night nor day were ever empty, of a ſpecies of beings more like beaſts than men. The juſtices of the peace at laſt took cognizance of this ſink of debauchery, and put a period to it. Let me remark here, that this is not a picture of the manners of England at the preſent day. I am ſpeaking of an alley diſtinguiſhed for centuries, as the reſort of the pooreſt, moſt wretched, and wicked of the people.

London is likewiſe the reſidence of thoſe pretenders to magic who, for the ſmall charge of a ſhilling, prophecy good fortune to the credulous. Their place of abode is generally painted with magical figures and decorated with celeſtial and terreſtrial globes. The dreſs of the magician is a black robe, and a long beard tied to his chin. Theſe ſorcerers, for the moſt part, are young fellows, but by means of this dreſs transform themſelves into old men; they pretend to have come from the Eaſt, to be ignorant of the Engliſh language, but have interpreters to give an air of probability to the farce. Theſe explain the oracles to the dupes, and divide the money with their maſters; they are generally either Engliſh or Iriſh adven-

turers, for no foreigner has ever ventured to practiſe this trade.

This genuine impoſture is ſeverely puniſhed, but not ſo frequently nor ſo effectually as to diſcourage it entirely. As the public ſafety is not endangered by it, and as no ſerious conſequences can be feared from ſuch a farce, as theſe magicians are at beſt but a ſort of beggars, and as there are ſo many abuſes of a more criminal nature to be reformed and puniſhed, theſe vagabonds are not proſecuted with much anxiety; they are only arreſted when they begin to make too great a buſtle, or to grow licentious. Accordingly they have the impudence to trumpet forth their talents in the public papers, and to advertiſe their prices, and place of abode. If the magiſtrate ſhould think proper to pay them a viſit at the appointed place, they deny every thing, and affirm that ſome wicked wag, for his amuſement, has undoubtedly inſerted the advertiſement, and that there are no magicians in their houſe. As they are provident enough to hide the robe, the globes and other apparatus of their art, which they do with eaſe in an inſtant, the officers of juſtice, finding no proofs of their unlawful proceedings, are obliged to retire, and the ſorcerer continues to practice his trade in peace.

CHAP. IV.

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ABOUT thirty years ago, it was not certain whether London or Paris were the largeſt city. But ſince limits have been ſet to the enlargement of the latter, which it is not paſs; and as this wiſe regulation has not been yet made as to London, which is daily receiving a prodigious encreaſe, it is no longer doubtful that the Engliſh capital has the misfortune of infinitely exceeding the French. What adds greatly to its extent, is the great number of large villages, which are only for the the moſt part compoſed of country ſeats, approaching as it were, to the ſuburbs of the city, and forming with it a monſtrous whole, which has neither bounds nor limits. It is computed that forty-two thouſand houſes have been built in London between the years 1762 and 1779. Many friends to their country have endeavoured to put a ſtop to this evil, which is continually augmenting. It is really madneſs, ſay they, thus to cover with tiles the whole of the county of Middleſex. The ſagacious North thought proper to lay a tax on brick; but far from having the effect he expected, the rage for building only encreaſed. Speculators

culators were not terrified with this tax; the certainty of finding inhabitants engaged them to make their houſes more and more convenient and agreable. There has been, within the ſpace of twenty years, truly a migration from the eaſt end of London to the weſt; thouſands paſſing from that part of the city, where new buildings are no longer carried on, to this end, where fertile fields and the moſt agreeable gardens are daily metamorphoſed into houſes and ſtreets. The eaſt end, eſpecially along the ſhores of the Thames, conſiſts of old houſes, the ſtreets there are narrow, dark, and ill paved; inhabited by ſailors, and other workmen, who are employed in the conſtruction of ſhips, and by a great part of the Jews. The contraſt between this and the weſt end is aſtoniſhing; the houſes here are moſtly new and elegant; the ſquares are ſuperb, the ſtreets ſtraight and open, nor is any city in Europe ſo well paved. If all London were as well built, there would be nothing in the world fit to be compared with it.

It is exceedingly ſingular, and what no traveller has remarked, that the weſt end of London, which makes more than the half of the town, and is entirely ſeparated from that part called the city, has never got a name. When people talk of it in the city,

city, or in any other quarter, they only name the ſtreets, but the whole is called the *other end of the town*. Travellers and geographers are wrong, when they call this prodigious aſſemblage of ſtreets and ſquares *Weſtminſter*; this does not make a tenth of it. Some part of the diſtrict, no doubt, is ſaid to belong to it in the acts of parliament and other public deeds, but all the reſt is included in the county of Middleſex. As every thing in this country is original and peculiar, we muſt not be ſurpriſed to find the metropolis placed in different counties, and that each quarter has its own particular juriſdiction.

The city, which is the ſmalleſt quarter of London, has its magiſtrates; all the reſt of the town, juſtices of peace, which, with reſpect to the police, occaſions very remarkable differences. This is more ſevere and more exact in the city, where the love of order and of labour is alſo greater. Two towns ſtanding at the diſtance of leagues from each other, cannot be more diſſimilar than the city is from the weſt end of the town; the form of government, the regulations of police, the privileges, the taſte and arrangement of the houſes, the manner of living, &c. &c. in ſhort every thing tends to make the difference ſtriking. It is not London, but the city alone which, among

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ether privileges, has the right of ſending repreſentatives to Parliament. The other inhabitants of London who are freeholders, elect, according to the quarters they inhabit, the members for Middleſex, Surrey, Kent and Weſtminſter.

In the fire of 1666, the city had thirteen thouſand four hundred houſes, eighty-ſeven churches, and twenty-ſix hoſpitals conſumed by the flames. This unfortunate ravage is now in a great meaſure repaired. But as each individual was eager to procure himſelf a dwelling, neceſſity made him be little attentive to the regularity or convenience of it. Hence the great number of ill-built, ugly, and dark houſes, thoſe crooked and, for the moſt part, narrow ſtreets, and the ill-judged poſition of their churches and other public buildings. All theſe defects have been carefully avoided in the weſt end. The churches of the city have been heaped upon one another; they are all built on their old foundations, and it may well be imagined, that in antient times, London did not want for convents and churches. In the weſt end, on the contrary, they are as rare as in the city they are numerous: the deſire of rearing a manſion for ourſelves is infinitely ſtronger than that of erecting one for the deity; there are even quarters

where ſix thouſand houſes belong to a ſingle pariſh.

Every ſhop and warehouſe is open by eight o'clock in the morning in the city; all is in motion and every body at work; whereas at the weſt end of this immenſe place, the ſtreets are ſtill empty and the houſes ſhut; all, without excepting the ſervants, are ſtill locked in the arms of ſleep. The noiſe of carriages is not heard, and one ſeems to wander in a deſart place. This difference, which holds even in the hours of eating and drinking, in the kind of amuſements, the dreſs and manner of ſpeaking, &c. has given riſe to a degree of mutual contempt by the inhabitants of each of theſe quarters for the other. Thoſe of the city reproach them of the other end for their idleneſs, luxury, manner of living, and deſire to imitate every thing that is French: theſe in their turn never mention an inhabitant of the city but as an animal groſs and barbarous, whoſe only merit is his ſtrong-box. It is chiefly when the deputies of theſe laſt come to aſk an audience of the king, to compliment him on ſome great event, or to preſent ſome petition, that the courtiers take a malicious pleaſure in ridiculing them. The deputation is generally very numerous, and the king receives, them ſeated on his throne. It may be eaſily imagin-

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ed that a ſimple citizen, to whom the manners and cuſtoms of a court are totally ſtrangers, will not acquit himſelf in this ſolemn act with the eaſe of a courtier who makes etiquette his chief and only ſtudy, and who even conſiders it as the moſt intereſting and only uſeful occupation. This mutual diſlike is ſung in the ſtreets, it is introduced upon the ſtage, and even in parliament it is not forgotten. In Italy, in ſimilar circumſtances, daggers would be drawn and blood ſpilt; but far from having theſe fatal effects in England, the matter ſeems only to divert, at times, the ſpleen of the nation. When the young citizens however happen to be in company with their antagoniſts, they carefully conceal the place of their abode, that an unfavourable idea of their manners may not be entertained by the perſons preſent.

The Engliſh nobility have at all times paſſed three-fourths of the year on their eſtates. This antient cuſtom is the cauſe that there are ſo few great houſes in the capital. It muſt be obſerved, however, that the reſidence in this place having now many more attractions than formerly, the nobility ſtay for a longer time than they uſed to do, but they ſtill regard their eſtates as their home, and their houſes in London merely as lodgings. Many individuals, worth

twenty thouſand a-year or more, have ſmall houſes in London in compariſon, and conſequently with a ſmall number of domeſtics are indifferently lodged. But this inconvenience will ſoon ceaſe, as many of the nobility are now beginning to build ſuperb houſes in town. Let it not be ſuppoſed that theſe eſtabliſhments are encouraged by the government; for although the firſt wiſh of courts is to draw around them a numerous nobility, who while adding to their ſplendour, relieve them from the fear of any commotion which might be raiſed by powerful lords in the heart of the country, I can affirm that nothing of this is the caſe, but that the pleaſures of London alone are the ſource of attraction. The paſſion for the chace is already beginning to abate, and that for the fine arts, and for whatever tends to add to the luxuries of life to increaſe. It is even probable that the Engliſh nobility will fix at laſt like thoſe of France, in the capital. When it is conſidered, that ſince this cuſtom has been generally adopted in Europe, troubles in the interior parts of the kingdom, which were either raiſed or fomented by the nobles, have ceaſed, and that it is only in Poland and in England, that they have been known in our times, becauſe it is only in theſe two countries that the nobility ſtill live on their eſtates, we ſhall be forced to allow that luxury, againſt

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which we ſo much cry out, has often been good for ſomething.

This new diſpoſition in the rich among the Engliſh to make London their principal abode, has ſuggeſted to ſpeculators the idea of forming whole ſtreets and large ſquares, decorated with houſes built at their expence. Such ſpeculations had never before been attempted in London. Theſe houſes, which may be conſidered as ſo many palaces, are very large, exceedingly commodious, and have all two floors under ground, which are lighted by a ſort of court before. Theſe two floors contain ſome very good apartments in which the ſervants and domeſtics live. Here is alſo the kitchen, the larder, the wine cellar, &c. ſo that the ground floor and others above, are entirely at the diſpoſal of the maſter and family.

The proprietors of theſe new buildings have generally a leaſe of the ground on which they ſtand from the owners for ninety-nine years: At the expiry of this period, they are obliged either to leave the houſe as it ſtands, or take a new leaſe, but not for a ſhorter term.

The Duke of Portland poſſeſſes ground on which eight thouſand of theſe houſes are built. It is to this cuſtom, founded on

the rights of property, that the inſufficiency of many of the houſes is to be attributed, as well as the ſmall number of maſter-pieces of architecture which are to be met with in London. Were it not for this, many rich individuals would take a pride in decorating the capital of their country. But this fault is in a great meaſure remedied by the extreme convenience they poſſeſs. Each houſe is abundantly provided with water by means of large pipes, which convey it through all the ſtreets of London. This abundance of water, is of the greateſt ſervice when fires happen, pumps being placed at every opening of the pipes. There is no fear of its ever becoming ſcarce; for not content with circulating the Thames water through the different quarters of the town, they have alſo turned into it the courſe of a river, at a conſiderable diſtance from London, named the *New river*. The Water is raiſed by machines to a great height from the ground, whence it falls again, and is diſtributed through an immenſe number of pipes.

Care is taken in England to inſure, not only houſes and warehouſes, but public buildings, ſuch as churches, hoſpitals, places of entertainment, &c. This precaution is not known in Paris, the police of which is notwithſtanding extolled to the clouds. Furniture and effects may alſo be inſured, but

but not ready money. The proprietor may inſure for as high a ſum as he pleaſes, and no difficulty is made excep: that ſum is ſo high as to create ſuſpicion. Unfortunately, this wiſe eſtabliſhment is ſometimes abuſed, and villains are now and then found who ſet their own houſes on fire. As this is a crime of very difficult proof, the inſurance office is always obliged to bear the loſs. Immediately after a fire, the aſſured may go and receive his money, after having given in a ſtate of his loſs, and made affidavit that he has not exaggerated it. Notwithſtanding the vaſt number of houſes annually conſumed in London by fire, the premium of inſurance is but a trifle; about half a crown a-year being paid for inſuring property worth a hundred pounds.

Nothing can exceed the luxury and magnificence diſplayed in the decorations of the inſide of the Engliſh houſes. Staircaſes covered with the richeſt carpets, are adorned with rails of mahogany moſt exquiſitely carved, and illuminated with lamps incloſed in vaſes of cryſtal; the walls of theſe ſuperb ſtair-caſes are generally covered with pictures, buſts and medallions; the cielings and wainſcoting of the apartments are laid over with the fineſt varniſh, and decorated with bas reliefs, gilding, and other admirable performances in painting

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and ſculpture ; the chimneys are of marble, with figures, flowers, or fruits in excellent taſte carved upon them, and the locks of the doors are of braſs, lacquered with gold; carpets which often coſt three hundred pounds, and which one is almoſt aſhamed to tread on, are ſpread on the floors; the window curtains are made of the richeſt India ſilk, and watches and clocks of the moſt ingenious and coſtly workmanſhip, add to the conveniency and magnificence of the ſcene.

The Engliſh have now introduced a new kind of ſculpture; theſe are medallions in ivory, of the moſt delicate workmanſhip. They are placed on black velvet, covered with a glaſs, and incloſed in a frame for the moſt part highly ornamented. Theſe medallions chiefly repreſent the heads of ſome of the great men of the country.

This paſſion of the rich to ſhine in the capital by the ſplendor and luxury of their houſes, grows daily more and more prevalent; and will perhaps deſtroy a cuſtom which artiſts and amateurs have long complained of; I mean, the embelliſhing their country houſes with the fineſt productions of art, which being thus buried in the heart of a province, are loſt to the world of taſte. Numbers of capital paintings, and

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pieces of ſculpture, which the magic of Engliſh gold has procured, and which Italy ſtill regrets, have found as it were a tomb in a country houſe, ſituated in a diſtant county. What artiſt has money or time enough to ſacrifice in the purſuit of a piece, which he finds perhaps after a long journey, and which he is only allowed to caſt his eye upon, without being permitted to ſtudy it at leiſure?

Without reckoning the cathedral of St Paul's, and the collegiate church of Weſtminſter, London incloſes within its circuit two hundred pariſhes, ſixty-nine chapels of the Engliſh worſhip, twenty-one French of the Proteſtant perſuaſion, eleven belonging to Germans, Dutch, Daniſh, &c. thirty-three meeting houſes for Anabaptiſts, Quakers, and twenty-ſix for Independants; twenty-eight for Preſbyterians; nineteen Catholic chapels, and three ſynagogues, amounting in all to three hundred houſes dedicated to the worſhip of the Deity. I do not include in this calculation one and twenty churches which belong to no pariſh though they are ſituated in London. This enumeration was made in 1779, which remark I make, becauſe the Anabaptiſts, Quakers, &c. are perpetually varying in numbers, and often change their places of meeting.

No city in Europe has ſuch fine ſquares as London. They are formed of large and beautiful houſes; no warè-houſes or ſhops are to be ſeen in them; the centre is generally an agreeable walk on a turf neatly kept. Some of theſe ſquares are decorated with ſtatues, obeliſks, &c. Markets are never held in them, that common cuſtom in other countries, which does not appear ſo diſagreeable there, becauſe the eye is familiariſed with it. The ſquares of London preſent no objects to the view but thoſe which indicate wealth and good taſte. People who live in them, have the advantage of breathing a purer air, and of not being troubled with noiſe and tumult. The numerous markets of this capital have all their fixed place, and neither buyers nor ſellers are in dread of being rode over by horſes or carriages, as their ſituation is removed from the moſt frequented paſſages. This regulation of an enlightened police ought to be followed in all great cities.

Among the ſingularities of London, we muſt enumerate the pavements and illumination of the ſtreets. About twenty years ago, London was one of the worſt paved cities in Europe. The evil was felt, but the remedy was not ſought for. Almoſt at every houſe too, there was hung out an enormous ſign poſt, which obſcured the ſtreets, often

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fell, and ſometimes killed the paſſengers. Two acts of parliament which paſſed almoſt at the ſame time, obviated both theſe inconveniencies. The unlucky ſign poſts diſappeared, and the ſtreets were ſoon covered with a pavement of a ſingular kind, which coſt 400,000 pounds. There is a foot path of hewn ſtone for thoſe who walk, on which they are in no danger from carriages or horſes. No coachman, without incurring a penalty of twenty ſhillings, dare encroach upon that foot path. There are large ſums deſtined for the maintenance of this ſuperb pavement; a wiſe but ſingular enough regulation prevents it from being too much injured. All carts, carriages, or waggons that enter London, are obliged to have the fellows of their wheels ſix inches broad. Theſe wheels far from looſening the ſtones, ſerve to make them firm, and repair, in ſome degree the daily injury they receive from carriages and other lighter vehicles. To indemnify waggoners, &c. they are exempted from certain taxes.

As the Engliſh are prodigal of their money and attention, in order to give every thing that relates to the public an air of grandeur and magnificence, we might naturally expect to find London well lighted, and accordingly nothing can be more ſuperb. The lamps which have three or four

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branches, are incloſed in cryſtal globes, and fixed on poſts at a little diſtance from each other. They are lighted at ſun-ſet in winter as well as in ſummer, whether the moon ſhines or not. In Oxford road alone, there are more lamps than in all the city of Paris. Even the great roads, for ſeven or eight miles round, are crowded with them, which makes the effect exceedingly grand, eſpecially in the county of Surry, where there are many croſs roads. The great roads are likewiſe edged thick with railings and country houſes; little wooden accommodations for watchmen are poſted at five hundred paces diſtance, on the top of which is a bell, and the watchmen are provided with fire-arms. As all the ſhops which are perfectly well lighted, are kept open till ten o'clock at night, the union of the light with that of the lamps makes a delightful ſpectacle. The Prince of Monaco, in whoſe houſe the late Duke of York died, was invited to England by the King. It was late when he arrived: ſtruck with the manificent ſpectacle, he imagined it a ſplendid illumination in compliment to him; for it never entered into his head that it could take place every evening. When the miſtake of the Prince was known, it gave riſe to many good natured pleaſantries.

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After what I have ſaid above, it may be inferred, that London contains many fine houſes but few palaces. However, though it is the cuſtom in England to ſay, Burlington houſe, Northumberland houſe, Somerſet houſe, &c. yet theſe edifices in every reſpect well deſerve the name of palaces. This cuſtom probably proceeds from that ſpirit of equality which the Engliſh pride themſelves in. It is only the King's reſidence that is called palace, every other edifice however vaſt or magnificent, the habitation of the King's ſons or brothers, and even that of the Prince of Wales is only called *houſe*.

The moſt remarkable pieces of architecture in London are ſome churches, bridges, hoſpitals, and other public edifices. St Paul's church is a ſtructure worthy of the nation. It would be, notwithſtanding its defects, much more admired than it is, did not its unfavourable ſituation conceal its beauties. It is generally believed, that it is built after the model of St Peter's at Rome; but it reſembles that edifice in nothing except in the dome and its figure. The front, oppoſite to Ludgate-hill, is more ſuperb, and has a much finer effect than that of St Peter's; but it wants the advantageous ſituation of the latter, the colonade, the jet-d-eau, and the obeliſk. There are ſtill

to be found, a great many prints of a design made by the famous architect, Wren, after which the church of St Paul's was to be built. This design was in the finest Grecian ſtile: its execution would have given England the honour of poſſeſſing the principal effort of modern architecture. The chapter of this church, whoſe conſent was unfortunately neceſſary, rejected Wren's plan; "ſuch an edifice, ſaid they, would look more like an heathen temple than a chriſtian church." There is no inſtance of a ſingle architect undertaking or executing an edifice of ſuch aſtoniſhing immenſity. It was the work of ſeven and thirty years, and it coſt L.1,200,000. Divine ſervice is celebrated in a very ſmall portion of this cathedral: all the reſt is empty and void of ornament, which has a diſagreeable effect. They begin now however to feel how much this magnificent edifice loſes by that diſmal and melancholy void; for, a few years ago, they formed the deſign of furniſhing it with monuments to the memory of the illuſtrious men of England. In conſequence of this deſign, the King was petitioned in 1778, in the name of the citizens of London, to allow a monument to be erected there, in honour of Lord Chatham. The miniſter, who at that time wiſhed to obſtruct the honours paid to the manes of that great man, would not acquieſce in the demand. The

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monument was ſet up in one of the obſcureſt corners of Weſtminſter Abbey, where it loſes much of its effect.

The Church or Abbey of Weſtminſter, is perhaps the fineſt relict we have of Gothic architecture. Its maſſy pillars, the boldneſs of its arches, its almoſt immenſe bulk, its ornaments, and diſtributions make it a moſt extraordinary edifice. It was once a convent of Benedictines, and Cromwell turned it into a ſtable and guard-hall for his cavalry. There is no where elſe to be found ſuch a collection of beautiful monuments; and however vaſt this place is, there will not be room in a ſhort time for more. It is the burial place of the Engliſh kings, and of a number of celebrated men, to whom monuments have been erected by their friends. If any place is capable of inſpiring deep veneration and religious awe, it is this. It is the true native country of a literary man; his eyes meet people of his acquaintance on every hand, reſpectable and famous names which the marble eterniſes; this ſight elevates, enflames, and ſtimulates his genius. Here are confounded the tombs of the ſtateſman, the general, the admiral, the philoſopher, the poet, the learned, and the ingenious of every character. The tomb of Newton, which is a maſter-piece, occupies the moſt advantageous place. On

it we read the following inſcription : " Mortals, rejoice at having poſſeſſed among you ſuch an ornament of humanity." This inſcription in the Latin language, was preferred to the following of Pope, which, though exaggerated, is very beautiful :

" All Nature and her laws lay hid in night,
" God ſaid, let Newton be, and all was light."

Foreigners of diſtinguiſhed merit are alſo buried here. The tombs of St Evremond and of Handel, are particularely admired. The epitaph of the firſt ſays expreſsly, that his uncommon talents made him the favourite of all ranks. The tomb of Handel, in the opinion of connoiſſeurs, is conſidered as the moſt beautiful and beſt imagined of any in the Abbey. As England never ſhewed ſuch regard for a foreigner, we need not wonder that ſo magnificent a monument was erected to his memory. The idea of it is ſublime. Handel, awakened by the laſt trumpet, riſes from his tomb ; the ſentiment of religious awe is not that which actuates his mind ; the ſounds of the trumpet attract his attention, his arm which he raiſes, his ear which liſtens, and the whole expreſſion of his countenance ſhews, that, enraptured with this celeſtial harmony, his mind cannot be engroſſed with any other object.

The monument of the immortal Shakeſpeare, contains no inſcription, but a paſſage out of his own Tempeſt:

" The cloud clapt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
" The ſolemn temples, the great globe itſelf,
" Nay, all which it inherit ſhall diſſolve,
" And like the baſeleſs fabrick of a viſion,
" Leave not a wreck behind."

The tomb of the fabuliſt Gay has this ridiculous epitaph:

Life is a jeſt, and all things ſhew it,
I thought ſo once, and now I know it.

All theſe monuments, elevated by art to the manes of great men, make a ſcene as affecting as magnificent. England is undoubtedly the only country in Europe, where merit is thus ſo nobly rewarded: It was this that made our Engel ſay, very juſtly, on the tomb of Leſſings. " Had he not been a
" German, had he been an Engliſhman,
" his aſhes would have repoſed in the vaults
" of kings; a nation to whom honour is
" ſo dear, would have eterniſed his me-
" mory by a public monument."

Weſtminſter is the burial place of many kings. Among others are the monuments of Henry VII. and VIII. Their anceſtors

have not had the ſame honour. Even Elizbeth, that great Queen, has only a ſimple epitaph on the ſtone that covers her. To make amends, the ſingular but wretched cuſtom was adopted of placing on their tomb their figure in wax work, which becomes hideous after a few years. The parliament in the reign of Queen Anne, gave the ſum of four thouſand pounds for keeping this church in repair.

This is the proper place for mentioning a ſingular anecdote, to which the beſt Engliſh hiſtorians have given credit, though they have not related it, the honour of the nation ſeeming to be concerned in it. The body of the unfortunate Charles I. if we may believe tradition, was firſt buried in the chapel of Windſor, where he ſtill remains, though no one knows the particular ſpot. This ignorance is very ſuſpicious, and is an argument for the truth of the anecdote I am about to mention. It is ſaid that ſome loyaliſts ſecretly tranſported the ſad remains of their ſovereign from Windſor to the Abbey of Weſtminſter. Upon the reſtoration of Charles II. the body of Cromwell was taken up and hung upon a gibbet. Now, it is ſaid, that either through miſtake or deſign, the body of Charles I. was raiſed, and on him this ignominious ceremony was performed. Afterwards, when in preſence

fence of a great crowd, the head was to be ſevered from the body, people were aſtoniſhed to find that it had been already done, and had only been ſowed on.

The more modern churches of London are built with much taſte. I need only cite St Martin's among many others. Its front is an imitation of that of the Pantheon at Rome. Connoiſſeurs however are diſpleaſed at ſeeing ſteeples, and towers inſtead of the majeſtic dome. A capital ſo rich, which poſſeſſes two of the moſt eminent architects in Europe, Adam and Chambers might produce the moſt admirable efforts of architecture. Adam has erected, in what are called the *Adelphi buildings*, ſome hundreds of houſes which may be cited as models of conveniency and elegance. All theſe large buildings are conſtructed on arches, which for grandeur, height and taſte, may be compared with any of the kind which ancient Rome can boaſt of. Many perſons think that if the preſent king had poſſeſſed a taſte for architecture, and had directed his powerful influence to encourage the erection of palaces, and other monuments worthy of the nation, London would have been at preſent the moſt magnificent city in Europe; it is even probable that then the unhappy war would not have taken place, and the flouriſhing ſtate of

theſe lofty iſlanders, which, twenty years ago inflamed the jealouſy of all the neighbouring nations, would have loſt nothing of its ſplendor.

We muſt alſo mention as a public edifice, the palace of the Lord Mayor called the Manſion houſe. It was built about fifty years ago, when the Engliſh were not as yet initiated in the myſteries of the fine arts, and when taſte was ſtill rare among them. When the Aldermen and common council were aſſembled to deliberate on the propoſals for this edifice, a nobleman ſent them a deſign of Palladio which he had brought from Italy. This deſign was well ſuited to the purpoſe they had in view, as neither money nor pains were to be ſpared, to make the place an ornament to the city. That reſpectable council knew nothing of Palladio, it was aſked who he was, and why he did not come himſelf? After a long debate, one of the notables roſe, and ſaid, he had been informed that this Palladio was a foreign architect who had been dead long ago; that it would be very ridiculous to execute a plan of his in London, which ſwarmed with good architects, and he immediately propoſed one of them, who was indeed a very good ſhip carpenter, and was accepted without difficulty by the grave council. He

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accordingly undertook and executed the preſent Manſion houſe. The form is a pretty good reſemblance of a ſhip of war, the apartments are dark and ill laid out; the ſtairs, which one would take for ladders, are aukwardly placed. This palace, which however, has nothing abſolutely diſagreeable, when viewed together, is the reſidence of the Lord Mayor, and he is obliged to live in it, while he continues inveſted with that dignity.

The beauty and grandeur of the three principal bridges of London, are a convincing proof of the opulence of the nation, and of its taſte for great enterprizes. It would be ridiculous to compare Weſtminſter or Blackfriars bridges with thoſe of the *Pont-neuf* or *Pont-Royal* of Paris. Tho' the Engliſhman is proud, he is not vainglorious; elſe how might he not boaſt of theſe maſter-pieces of art, which for ſize, magnificence and convenience, exceed every thing of the kind in Europe? I will not even except the Rialto of Venice, for the rough marble blocks of which it is conſtucted are certainly not elegant. The ſingle arch of that bridge, ſo famous for its width, and its height may be imitated; for there exiſts near the town of Aberdeen in Scotland, a bridge over the Don, which

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conſiſts of a ſingle arch, the two piers of which reſt on the oppoſite banks of the river, diſtant ninety feet, which is exactly the extent of the Rialto.

Theſe new bridges of London are as commodious as elegant and ſuperb. That of Weſtminſter is 1223 feet long, by 44 broad. It is exceedingly well paved, and the ſides are adorned with baluſtrades of ſtone; the foot-paths are broad, and the lamps on it numerous, and many places are contrived as ſhelters from rain or bad weather. It has 15 arches; that in the centre is 76 feet wide. It was finiſhed about twenty years ago, having taken twelve years in the building, and coſt 150,000 pounds. This immenſe expence did not deter them from beginning another almoſt immediately. This is Blackfriars bridge, which is ſituated in the centre of the town, and joins the city to the county of Surrey. It is ſtill more magnificent and elegant than that of Weſtminſter. Its arches are adorned with columns of the Ionic order, which have a very fine effect. This bridge was erected at the expence of the city and coſt L.160,000. As it was only finiſhed a few years ago, there is ſtill a toll paid in paſſing along it, which is not now the caſe on Weſtminſter bridge. This toll in the year 1783 amounted to the ſum of L.6500. It was propoſed a few

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years ago to erect a third bridge in the weſt end of the town, between the other two; but the execution has been deferred.

Although London bridge is a very fine one, it is however not to be compared with either of the other two. The ſtrength of this bridge, built more than eight hundred years ago, gives us a very favourable idea of the manner of building at that time. Its arches are low, and very ſmall, accordingly it is not uncommon to ſee accidents happen to ſmall boats in paſſing under it with the current. This bridge was for centuries covered with houſes, and perfectly reſembled a ſtreet, like the bridge of Notre Dame at Paris a few years ago. Theſe houſes were ill conſtructed and inhabited by the poorer ſort of people, and conſequently reſembled the dirtieſt lanes in London. An act of parliament in our days, rectified this inconvenience, and all the houſes were demoliſhed. Near this bridge is the Monument, of the Doric order, erected in memory of the dreadful fire which laid waſte the city in the year 1666. It is placed on the ſpot where the fire began, which is the reaſon of its diſadvantageous ſituation. It is two hundred feet high, conſequently higher than Trajan's pillar at Rome, and has like that a winding ſtair-

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caſe within. It coſt 30,000 pounds Sterling. As its fall, which is very much dreaded, would have the moſt diſmal conſequences, it has been ſeveral times propoſed to pull it down. It is quite encompaſſed with houſes, the ſtreets leading to it are narrow, and filled with ſhops and warehouſes; it would therefore be very prudent to rid this quarter of the town of that enormous maſs of ſtones.

The exchange and the bank muſt alſo be enumerated among the public edifices of the city. The exchange of London is not the largeſt, but undoubtedly the moſt magnificent in Europe. It is decorated with the ſtatues of the kings of Great Britain, and is ſurrounded with a multitude of coffee houſes, in which more buſineſs is tranſacted than in the exchange itſelf. It is conveniently ſituated, being within a few ſteps of the poſt office, of the inſurance office, of the Manſion houſe, of the India houſe, of Guildhall, of the Bank &c.

Although the Bank conſiſts but of one ſtory it muſt be allowed to be a very elegant building. The greateſt part of the chambers are lighted from above. Stoves have of late years been ſo artfully fitted up here, that neither opening nor pipe can be ſeen. Each of theſe ſtoves coſt L.100.

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As the bank is the property of the nation in general, all the chambers and places of that immenſe building are open to every body; and in a large hall are placed tables with pen, ink and paper, of which any perſon may make uſe, without having any buſineſs with the bank. However unimportant theſe minutiæ may appear in the eyes of many people, I cannot help conſidering them as demonſtrative of that ſpirit of republicaniſm which animates the whole nation.

The magnificence of the ſhops, and warehouſes, which often extend without interruption the length of an Engliſh mile, are peculiarly ſtriking in London. In their large windows, the merchant diſplays his moſt beautiful and moſt faſhionable wares; and as they are often varied, the change occaſions the moſt brilliant effect to the eye. The ſhops of mathematical inſtrument-makers are furniſhed with the moſt rare, and moſt accurate apparatus for that ſcience, which are hardly ever found but in the palaces of princes. Nothing can be more ſplendid than the ſhops of ſilverſmiths. By contemplating the prodigious quantities of the precious metals that are there diſplayed, it is poſſible to conceive an idea of the wealth poſſeſſed by the nation. The greateſt ſhops of this

ſort at Paris, in the Street St Honoré, are mean in compariſon with theſe. I know ſome of them in Cheapſide, which contain goods to the amount of an hundred thouſand pounds. The print-ſhops are real galleries. We muſt rank in the number of national privileges, the liberty of publiſhing ſatyrical engravings, which turn the events of the day into ridicule. The Frenchman chooſes rhyme, the duller Dutchman a medal, and the Engliſhman a print, to give currency to ſatire. In 1784, when Fox was in a high ſtation, he was repreſented ſitting before a mirror which reflected the image of Cromwell.

The government of the city is a pretty exact copy of that of the kingdom, and like it is divided into three branches; the lord mayor, (the king,) the aldermen and council, (the Houſe of Peers,) the common council or livery (the Houſe of Commons.) Theſe laſt are choſen by the citizens, who form a body of nine thouſand perſons having a vote in the election of the lord mayor, of ſheriffs &c. There is no ſalary annexed to the office of alderman; but the honour of it, a certain influence which it procures in public affairs, and the hopes of the mayoralty it encourages, make it be eagerly ſolicited; but no body can

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choſen Alderman till he has ſerved as Sheriff or Juſtice of Peace in the county of Middleſex. The place of Alderman is by no means lucrative, neither does it lead into any expence; but that of Sheriff requires two or three thouſand pounds a-year, ſo that no body chuſes to fill the office more than once. When Wilkes was elected, his friends advanced the neceſſary ſums, and this was his firſt ſtep to the dignity of Lord Mayor. The court did its utmoſt to prevent him from ſucceeding, but in vain; as its influence is very inconſiderable in theſe elections, it follows that the city of London is not always in great favour at St James's; but this misfortune it ſupports with a good grace. The bon mot of an Alderman in Charles the II's. time, is always remembered with pleaſure. When that monarch was much offended with the citizens of London, for refuſing him the ſums which his fooliſh extravagance required, he threatened, when one of the Aldermen came to preſent him an addreſs, to leave London, and eſtabliſh his court at Oxford: "I hope, replied the Alderman, that your Majeſty will not take the Thames along with you." This ſally had its effect, and no Engliſh monarch has ever ſince thought proper to make a ſimilar menace.

No one can become a citizen of London without being inrolled in one of the twenty-six corporations, of which the whole livery is compoſed. Hence, the common opinion that perſons of the loweſt order may arrive at the higheſt dignities of the capital, becauſe they annex to their names, that of the corporation to which they belong; for example, A. B. tailor, haberdaſher, &c. When the freedom of the city is preſented to any prince or perſon of quality, he is aſked, among which of the corporations he would chuſe to be inrolled, and he generally chooſes that of the Lord Mayor for the time being. This choice was made by the King of Denmark, who was accordingly inrolled among the goldſmiths. The richeſt tradeſman or artiſt cannot, while he continues to practice his trade or art, aſpire to any poſt of honour in the city, or become a member of parliament.

The Lord Mayor is obliged to give audience every day in the Manſion houſe, and to adminiſter juſtice: whenever the laws are infringed in the city, it is before him that the complaint is brought, though the offence ſhould require the puniſhment only of a ſmall pecuniary fine; he gives judgment inſtantly; but in affairs of greater importance, the guilty perſon is ſent to priſon, to take his trial agreeably to law. If the Lord

Mayor

Mayor departs in any degree from the duties which theſe laws impoſe on him, he can be cited to appear by the loweſt of the citizens, and he is obliged to obey the ſummons. While he is adminiſtring juſtice in the Manſion houſe, ſome of the aldermen ſit at Guildhall who have the ſame authority, and the ſame power. As there are no juſtices of peace in the city, theſe perform that office; but there is this difference, that they cannot condemn a citizen to the payment of a pecuniary fine. They either bring about a compromiſe between the parties, or they ſend the accuſed to priſon, when the proſecution againſt them is perſiſted in, and they cannot find bail. The judge is always obliged to take bail, except in three caſes, high treaſon, murder, and theft. The office of Lord Mayor is equally honourable and lucrative. London conſiders him, as its king; and accordingly he is obliged to maintain almoſt equal ſtate. The number of his ſervants, his equipage, his ſuperb liveries, and the retinue that accompany him give great ſplendour to his appearance. He has the title of My Lord which is given him by the king himſelf. He enjoys many excellent privileges. Troops muſt have his permiſſion before marching through the city, and no ſoldiers can be inliſted or impreſſed there without his warrant. He has alſo the ſuperintendance of the

Thames, and great privileges are attached to this function. The bulk of his revenue ariſes from the ſale of certain offices which he can fill up at his pleaſure, if they become vacant during his reign. It is alſo cuſtomary that the Lord Mayor, upon entring on his dignity, gives a great entertainment followed by a ball, at the Manſion houſe. All the nobility are invited, though a few only attend, according to the political connections or principles of the Lord Mayor. This entertainment however is always very brilliant. The day in which he takes poſſeſſion of his charge, which is a day of great feſtivity in London, he goes in proceſſion to Weſtminſter hall, where the oaths are adminiſtred to him by the Lord Chancellor. The proceſſion is made for part of the way by water, in boats ſplendidly decorated, and accompanied by a crowd of other boats; a ſpectacle which has a good deal of reſemblance to that of the annual marriage of the Doge of Venice with the ſea. They land at Blackfriars bridge where they are met and are attended by all the corporations of London to Guildhall. There is a great entertainment provided and ball given at the expence of the city, when many hundred tickets of invitation are given out. As the company is very promiſcuous, the confuſion is accordingly very great.

It is not common for the ſame perſon to become Lord Mayor a ſecond time. William Beckford, a man of deep knowledge, and a ſincere lover of his country, who enjoyed a revenue of L. 36,000 a-year, was re-elected to that dignity in the year 1770; a time when the city of London, and the greater part of the counties of England were every day addreſſing the king for a new parliament; for the old one had in the affair of Wilkes, intirely loſt the favour of the people. The city of London, however, was as obſtinate in reiterating its petitions. The Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs, a number of Aldermen, and other deputies of the city, repaired continually in great pomp to St James's, where, agreeably to their privilege, the king received them ſitting on his throne; but they always returned with the ſame anſwer, that the king was content with his parliament, but that as he always took pleaſure in complying with the ſolicitations of his people, he would conſider of it, and things remained ſtill in the ſame ſituation. At laſt Beckford, diſguſted with ſeeing himſelf obliged by his office to play the firſt character in this farce, reſolved ſecretly to treat the affair more ſeriouſly. He accordingly went to St James's with a numerous ſuite, and after reading the petition he received the uſual anſwer. It is the cuſtom after a ſolemn audience of this ſort for the

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deputation to kiſs the king's hand and to retire. But Beckford who had not come with an intention to undergo a ceremony ſo little ſuited to the objects of a free people, reſuming the diſcourſe, entreated the king, with a reſpectful firmneſs, not to look with indifference on the petition of the firſt city of his kingdom, but to yield to the reiterated ſolicitations of his people.

This apoſtrophe of the patriotic Mayor, was unexpected, and unexampled. I was one of the ſpectators, and I own that in my life, I have never been witneſs of a more extraordinary ſcene. The trouble and agitation of the courtiers were viſible in their faces, while the citizens ſhewed by marks equally unequivocal, how much they applauded the courageous patriotiſm of their firſt magiſtrate. He in the mean while ſtood with a noble tranquillity before the throne expecting an anſwer from the king. As none was prepared, a deep ſilence reigned for a conſiderable time over the whole hall, during which the ſpectators looked at one another with aſtoniſhment. Beckford then ſaw that it was time to put an end to this ſtrange ſcene; he bowed and retired. It may be gueſſed how much offence this conduct gave at St James's; it was called inſolence, and the Mayor was threatned with the Tower. In the city, on the other hand, nothing was heard

heard but ſolemn thanks to him for his conduct; they had their effect, and were accompanied by the moſt flattering circumſtances. Eight days afterwards, the Mayor was obliged to congratulate the king, in the name of the city, on the birth of a ſon. A while before the audience, the Lord Chamberlain came to reproach him for his former proceeding, adding, that a repetition of the ſame behaviour might make the city of London loſe its privilege of preſenting petitions to the king in perſon. Beckford begged that this declaration might be given in writing, and upon the Lord Chamberlain's refuſal, he anſwered that he conſidered it as not made. This worthy patriot died ſoon after, even before his mayoralty was expired. The citizens reſolved unanimouſly to erect a monument to him, in the audience chamber in Guildhall. It conſiſts of his ſtatue in white marble, of the natural ſize, in his robes of office, in the attitude he had aſſumed when he addreſſed the king in the words I have above cited; which are alſo engraven as an inſcription on the pedeſtal. It is not uncommon to hear an orator turn his face to that ſtatue, and invoke the ſpirit of Beckford, and then to conjure the citizens, by the memory of that great man, not to abandon the good of their common country.

It is thus, that this illuſtrious nation treads in the footſteps, of the ancient Romans, thoſe worthy models, and demonſtrates how deeply patriotiſm is rooted in their breaſts, however blameable and extraordinary, the exceſſes may be, to which it is ſometimes carried.

CHAP. V.

CHAP. V.

IF there was but one religion in England, ſays Voltaire, deſpotiſm would be very much dreaded: If there were two, adds he, the people would cut one anothers throats; but as ſo many different ſects are tolerated, and as the Supreme Being is worſhipped in ſuch a variety of ways, a holy enthuſiaſm does not take poſſeſſion of the mind, and people live in tranquillity. Voltaire has here uttered a great truth; for that tumult which aroſe under pretence of zeal for the proteſtant religion, cannot be called a proof of the contrary. The legiſlative power of England has reduced the principles of toleration to a ſyſtem, and that ſyſtem ſeems to have attained, in our days, the higheſt degree of perfection. In this firm perſuaſion the tumult of 1780 did not appear alarming; but, and it muſt be told for the honour of Parliament, at the very moment when the houſe was aſſaulted by a furious people, in which the lives of the ſenators were in the greateſt danger, and notwithſtanding the multitude of claſhing factions not a ſingle member propoſed to infringe

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that wiſe law in order to appeaſe the inſurgents.

England if ſubjected to one religion would ſoon groan under the yoke of deſpotiſm, becauſe its monarch is the head of the church, and in this capacity his power is unlimited. But he is never troubled with religious diſputes; theſe are unknown in England; even when the citizens of the loweſt claſs diſagree and come to blows; in law ſuits, or in any other ſort of brawl, the word religion is never heard. Intolerance, that diſmal and horrid inheritance which the Jewiſh nation, ever obſtinate in prejudice, hath left us, has never found and never will find an opportunity of getting foot in England. The great numbers of Chriſtians who do not adhere to the church of England, and who perhaps form the greateſt part of the inhabitants; the liberty they take in thinking and acting as they chooſe; the multiplicity of wants, which are the ſource of accumulating wealth, and which make a mutual exchange of aſſiſtance and good offices indiſpenſible; in a word, every thing contributes to propagate, and to eſtabliſh in the iſland, that toleration to which its greatneſs, its opulence and proſperity are owing.

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We may mention in this place a bon mot of the late earl of Chesterfield to whom a monk had a letter of recommendation from Rome. This person informed the earl that zeal to convert his countrymen to the Catholic faith, was the sole motive of his journey to England, and that he was ready to suffer every thing for the sake of his religion; "You are come too late, father, said Chesterfield; in vain will you endeavour to obtain the crown of martyrdom here; alas there is now nothing to be done in that way in my ungrateful country!"

Before any one can enjoy a place or an office in England, he must previously take an oath acknowledging the king to be the head of the church; now the Catholics either cannot or will not take this oath, and therefore they are deprived of many privileges, and excluded from many offices to which their birth or their merit might make them aspire. The first and most ancient family in England was long in this situation. To the title of Duke of Norfolk, is annexed the dignity of hereditary earl Marshal of the kingdom. But their religion not only prevented the persons who enjoyed this title from performing the functions of their hereditary office, but even excluded them from their seat in the house of Peers.

The Roman Catholics have biſhops in England, who are commonly ſettled in London, where they live on charity; thoſe of their religion provide for them very handſomely, and they might even live much at their eaſe, if the number of eccleſiaſtics in London were not ſo conſiderable. There you find them of all orders, and under every form. That all the dignities may be filled up, there is alſo among theſe prieſts an archbiſhop of Canterbury, who is the head of the Catholic church in England. In 1778, it was computed that there were 40,000 Catholics in London. I do not imagine that there are as many in all the reſt of the kingdom together, the chapels of the foreign miniſters, drawing great numbers to the capital; there are many however in the counties of Lancaſhire, Staffordſhire, and Suſſex.

Although the clergy of the church of England, have good revenues, and though the biſhops live ſumptuouſly; the people do not pay them much reſpect, and for this reaſon, the number of religious, and of ſects into which the inhabitants are divided, weakens the intereſt of religion in general, and inſpires them with little reverence for the churchmen, who being under no controul, live as they pleaſe, and not always as they ought. The exceſſes of which they

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are ſometimes guilty, their frequency and notoriety, and the puniſhment conſequent on them deſtroys that conſideration which ought to be attached to their function. A few months after the execution of Dr Dodd for forgery, another clergyman was put on the pillory, for ſome ſcandalous practices with girls of ten or twelve years of age, whom it was his duty to have inſtructed in the truths of religion. Churchmen are often ſeen fighting duels; I will not ſpeak of their intoxication, and many other exceſſes to which they addict themſelves without any ſhame. They are ſometimes found in crowds in the jails for debt, and about twenty years ago, they ſported, for the moſt trifling rewards, with one of the moſt auguſt ceremonies of their religion, I mean the celebrating of clandeſtine marriages. They did not want occupation, and it was not then neceſſary to take a trip to Scotland in order to be married againſt the will of parents or guardians; theſe wretches pronounced every hour of the day, for a couple of ſhillings, the nuptial benediction, and even when their caſſocks were pawned, which was not uncommon. That benediction was as valid as if it had been uttered by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, cloathed in his pontificals, at the foot of the altar of his cathedral. But the profa-

mation of ſo ſolemn a ceremony was put a ſtop to by an act of parliament.

The church of England has at its head two archbiſhops, and twenty-four biſhops. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, who occupies the higheſt dignity, is alſo primate of all England, and in the order of precedency goes next to the princes of the blood royal. He has twenty one biſhops under him; the three others are ſuffragans of the archbiſhop of York. All theſe prelates ſit in the Houſe of Peers, and are in general devoted to the court. It is very rare to ſee them taking part in the debates even though they ſhould have a talent for oratory, for fear of expoſing their dignity to diſreſpect, for the peers in oppoſition, never fail to attack it, whenever they open their mouth. As the clergy at all times, and among all people, have never choſen to be contradicted, and as this privilege, which they arrogate to themſelves every where elſe, is not granted them in England, they take the wiſe reſolution of being ſilent, and they are entirely paſſive in parliament.

In the ages of barbariſm and ignorance, there was a law in favour of the clergy as ſingular as ridiculous; and as it ſtill continues in the number of the priviges of a numerous and powerful body, it

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will be very difficult to annul it; but wiſe laws have guarded againſt the abuſes which it would neceſſarily occaſion. At the time when the civil and eccleſiaſtical ſtates formed two ſeparate bodies independent of each other, and when, it may be ſaid, the prieſts alone could read, a perſon in general eſcaped the rigour of the laws, whatever crime he might have committed, provided he could read a page of the Bible. Accordingly all the laws that are at preſent made in England inflicting puniſhments, except this privilege in the following words, "without benefit of clergy." Too many perſons in our days it is to be feared can read the Bible. This privilege however is ſtill granted in caſes which are of little conſequence, or which are regulated by the ancient laws. The reading is then performed with all the requiſite formalities before a court called Doctors Commons, of which the archbiſhop of Canterbury is preſident. Before this tribunal are decided the validity of teſtaments, of contracts of marriage, &c.

The principles of toleration which the church of England has adopted, are the cauſe of the little zeal ſhewn by the Engliſh to make proſelytes. A very few miſſionaries are to be found even in their immenſe poſſeſſions in India, ſuch as metho-

diſts, anabaptiſts, &c. whom an enthuſiaſm for their own religion has carried thither. The laws enjoin every ſhip, which has on board an hundred men, to take a chaplain along with them, and this practice is ſtrictly obſerved in all the king's ſhips. The crew on board merchant ſhips is hardly ever ſo numerous, except ſuch as are employed by the Eaſt India Company, who conſidering a chaplain as a very uſeleſs paſſenger, never put more than ninety nine on board. The Eaſt India Company give themſelves no concern about the intereſts of religion, and in all Bengal, there is neither church nor chapel.

The Puritans properly ſpeaking, are only Calviniſts whoſe principles and religious ceremonies are founded on the doctrines of Calvin. The families who in the laſt century fled from France to England, do not however join theſe; but have as in Germany, preſerved their own liturgy, and their divine ſervice is ſtill performed in the French language. The French are accordingly inclined to believe that in order to induce ſo many thouſand ſouls to come back to their native country, it would be ſufficient to grant them the free exerciſe of their religion. But I much doubt whether ſuch toleration on the part of the French court would make any impreſſion on the

refugees.

refugees of England and Holland, and ſtill leſs thoſe of Germany, where however they are in great numbers.

The methodiſts form a numerous ſect in England. Whitefield was their founder, a man of deep knowledge and ſevere virtue, who died in London a few years ago. He preached in the moſt frequented ſtreets and in the moſt public places about London. His aim was to reform and to purify the manners of his fellow citizens. The novelty of his manner of preaching, and the place in which his ſermons were delivered, drew alſo a crowded audience; the clergy of England were alarmed, all the pulpits reſounded with imprecations againſt a man whom they deſcribed to the people as a fanatic and a madman. From that moment his reforming zeal was perſecuted wherever he had the courage to ſhow it. He oppoſed however to all ſort of outrages a ſweetneſs and unconquerable patience, and he augmented by this wiſe conduct the number of his adherents, by whoſe aſſiſtance in a ſhort time, he was relieved from the neceſſity of preaching in the ſtreets. Perſons of diſtinction, who were drawn by curioſity to hear him, often became his diſciples. Whitefield at laſt eſtabliſhed himſelf at Moorfields, whither he went daily to exhort a vaſt multitude. His ſobriety

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was extreme, and he distributed with prudence, and scrupulous exactness, the large sums that were often sent him for benevolent purposes. At last finding himself inadequate to the instruction of the immense crowds that daily resorted to him, he resolved to make choice of some ecclesiastical assistants, (among whom was the famous Wesley,) and to build in the same place a church, which he called the *Tabernacle*, which is still held in great veneration by the Methodists; many among them having built houses in its neighbourhood.

Whitefield went four times to America to preach his doctrines, and had reason to be satisfied with his zeal. If ever the chief of a sect merited the esteem of the philosopher, this singular man certainly did. Without ambition or interested views, he continued to his last sigh, faithful to his plan, which was to make men better, by inspiring them with a love of pure and simple morality. If he has not been successful in finding the philosophers stone of theology, he has at least proved that he was not a mean adept; and, that heavenly simplicity of his own morals and principles, has taken root in the hearts of many thousands of his brethren. He died with the tranquillity of a saint, and his followers never pronounce his name, but with respect.

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The liturgy of this ſect, is with a few variations the ſame with that of the church of England. The methodiſts have beſides ſeveral hymns of a very agreeable melody. The ſermon however compoſes the greateſt part of the public worſhip, and neither hell nor heaven are forgotten. Almoſt all the methodiſts are trades people; but as their number encreaſes daily, they have been obliged to multiply the tabernacles. Some years ago they purchaſed the little Pantheon; this place which for three years, had been the receptacle of every kind of amuſement and diſſipation, is now metamorphoſed into a houſe of devotion. They wanted alſo in 1783, to appropriate to themſelves the great Pantheon, that ſanctuary of the nine; but Apollo aſſerted his rights, and the muſes were permitted to remain.

Since the erection of ſo many tabernacles it is no longer the cuſtom to preach in the fields. This however happens ſtill ſometimes, but the audience is then not numerous, and conſiſts only of the dregs of the people. A ſcene of this kind muſt neceſſarily have a ſingular effect upon a ſtranger. The preacher is generally half buried in a tub, raiſed ſomewhat above the people; here my gentleman, extending his arms out of this ludicrous receptacle, begins his geſticulations, rolls his eyes, and amidſt

a thouſand contorſions of his features, utters a ſermon, not by reading as is the cuſtom in the Engliſh churches, but by declaiming as in Germany. Declamation is not practiſed in England, for this curious reaſon, that it gives the preacher a theatrical appearance.

By obſerving the phlegm with which the Engliſh perform the duties of their religion, we will be convinced that it ought, in order to produce any effect on them, to intereſt the ſenſes. In cathedrals, where they ſometimes chaunt in chorus, one is ſtruck with the irreligious, and careleſs air with which they acquit themſelves. The clergy and thoſe of the laity, who conſider themſelves as true Chriſtians, make the obſervance of the Sunday, to conſiſt in abſtinence from labour and buſineſs. This popular and judaical prejudice, reſts on the authority of a law, made at a time when puritaniſm was in its glory, and has, not a little contributed to that demureneſs and taciturnity which form ſo ſtriking a feature in the character of the Engliſh.

The law prohibits, on the only day in which the labourer and the tradeſman can enjoy the free air, and divert himſelf, all muſic and dancing; ſo that the public gardens, the tayerns, the bagnios, and all pub-

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lic places ſwarm with people, who without dancing, run to every ſort of exceſs, to which that ridiculous law could not extend. They muſt neither buy nor ſell on Sunday; a very ſmall number of hackney coaches are in waiting on that day; the bargemen are not allowed to ply on the Thames, no newſpaper is publiſhed, that grand deſideratum of Engliſh curioſity, &c.

We muſt deplore the weakneſs of human nature, when we ſee ſenſible and well informed people, zealous partizans of a ridiculous and even pernicious prejudice. The learned Dr Johnſon was ſo attached to it, that he conjured the celebrated painter Sir Joſhua Reynolds, on his death-bed, to grant him one favour, and that was a promiſe not to work on Sunday.

As the law expreſsly prohibits all labour of whatever kind on that day, many thouſands of men, who are abſolutely obliged to work, ſuch as hair-dreſſers, barbers, &c. would become culpable, if a ſtrict obſervance of it, were required. They have indeed tacitly reſolved not to be ſevere, but if any is accuſed of diſobedience, the magiſtrate is obliged to puniſh him. I was one day at the Manſion houſe, when a complaint of this kind was made againſt an unfortunate hair-dreſſer, who had nothing

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to alledge in his own defence. The Lord Mayor who, in quality of judge, has the power of impoſing the fine, found him guilty, and ſentenced him to pay the fine of a ſhilling, of which the accuſer was entitled to the half. The infamy attached to ſuch accuſations, and the ſmallneſs of the reward which reaſonable judges will never allow to be conſiderable, in ſuch caſes makes them very rare.

The pulpits in London have often been choſen to utter and to diſſeminate political principles. It is the court that make uſe of this engine, which always does more ill than good. Intereſt is generally the motive with the preachers intruſted with ſuch a commiſſion, which is rarely ſucceſsful: for when they preach for or againſt certain cuſtoms which have no relation to the affairs of government, they are ſometimes liſtened to. It is known that after the earthquake at Liſbon, certain preachers declaimed with great enthuſiaſm againſt maſquerades. Others by endeavouring to ſhew the uſefulneſs and ſucceſs of innoculation, have extended its practice; they even went ſo far as to repreſent it as a duty which parents and relations were bound in conſcience to perform. The Pamela of Richardſon has been recommended from the pulpit to the reading of young women.

Faſt

Faſt days are alſo ſometimes celebrated, and they are appointed by the king as the head of the church; theſe days are not held ſo ſacred as the Sunday, and accordingly many an honeſt tradeſman thinks it is his duty to employ them in procuring bread for his wife and family. The anniverſary of the martyrdom of the unfortunate Charles I. which is celebrated on the 30th of January, is an abſolute farce. It conſiſts in the duty of certain magiſtrates, and perſons attached to the court, going to church, which is almoſt a deſert, and hearing ſermon. Wilkes once affirmed openly in parliament, that that day was the moſt glorious in the annals of his country, and being obliged once to go to church, to hear the anniverſary ſermon, he had the temerity to ſtay at home.

Let me be permitted to remark, that never in our days, have opinions been ſo various with regard to the character of any monarch as to that of Charles I. He paſſes in the judgement of many, as a ſtate criminal who deſerved his fate; but the greater number revere him as a ſaint, who became the innocent victim of a band of fanatic and ambitious knaves. The illuſtrious Hume has contributed not a little, by his Hiſtory of England, to ſpead that opinion. In this he attained the end he aim-

ed at : he ſacrificed to riches and honours the confidence of the public which every hiſtorian ſhould make it his pride to obtain. It is at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign that he quits the ſtraight path, and ceaſes to deſerve credit. Thoſe therefore who wiſh to have a thorough knowledge, and to ſee in their true light the revolutions that happened in England under the Stuarts, cannot take a better guide than Rapin de Thoyras an impartial author, who proves by authentic documents whatever he advances, and who by theſe means gained a reputation in England, which he preſerves to this day. Let us ſuppoſe for a moment that the guilt of Charles was undoubted ; it will certainly be allowed to be the privilege of a free people who have fixed principles with regard to the laws and rights of humanity, to determine whether that head, begirt with the circle of royalty, could without a crime be made to fall by the blow of an executioner ; and the philoſopher of foreign countries, will ponder in the ſilence of his cloſet, the juſtice of an event ſo tragical and ſo memorable.

To return. The Engliſh Quakers amounted, about twenty years ago, to the number of 60,000, but that ſect now decreaſes inſenſibly. Young people whoſe religious fervour is not very ardent, ab-

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jure a creed which excludes them from all offices and dignities, and the ſame reaſon prevents Chriſtians of other denominations from joining them. The ambition of the young women with regard to marriage, is very much reſtrained, and the love of dreſs ſo natural to their ſex, and age, is confined within very narrow bounds. They dare wear nothing but cloths of the graveſt colour, and their gowns muſt not be trimmed. As hair dreſſing is interdicted, and neither ribbons nor feathers, nor precious ſtones permitted, they generally chuſe the fineſt ſtuffs, as muſlin, &c. but do not compenſate for the other imperfections of their apparel. The clothes of the men have few buttons, and no folds; they wear a large round hat; but there are ſome who depart from the ſeverity of theſe regulations and go dreſſed like other people. It is the ſame with the cuſtom of uſing the ſecond perſon ſingular to people they ſpeak to. The moſt zealous of the ſect alone retain this cuſtom: but their horror at an oath and bloodſhed, is a diſtinctive mark, and common to every Quaker. The legiſlature is very indulgent to them on theſe two points. In the courts, and before magiſtrates, their mere word is taken inſtead of an oath; it is only in criminal matters, when the life or the liberty of a citizen is at ſtake, that this is not deemed ſufficient.

Accordingly no Quaker has ever appeared in the character of accuſer in a criminal trial. Their averſion to war is ſo great that in 1775, when the encroachments of the ſavages in Pennſylvania were frequent, they for a long time ſaw their fields laid waſte, and multitudes of their fellow citizens butchered, before they could reſolve to ſend troops againſt them. They remained deaf to the lamentations of ſo many unhappy people, and it was not till deſpair, taking poſſeſſion of their minds, they came to expoſe before the town houſe of Philadelphia, the bodies of their murdered brethren, that the Quakers could be prevailed on, to repel the ſavages ſword in hand. This firſt ſtep led them to the ſame martial reſolution during the American war, and they did not need ſo many exhortations to induce them.

The ſect of Anabaptiſts alſo diminiſhes for the ſame reaſons that diſcourage the increaſe of the Quakers. The village of Chelſea, ſo agreeably ſituated on the banks of the Thames, contains their charter houſe, thoſe in which they aſſemble for divine worſhip, are in London. This ſect loſes nothing by compariſon with Quakers. They do not affect like them to be diſtinguiſhed from other men by ſingularity of dreſs or manners, nor by their language, which every

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body laughs at, and which is often turned into ridicule on the ſtage.

Notwithſtanding the prodigious number of ſectaries in England, deiſm gains ground with rapid ſtrides. One Williams in 1776, formed the ſcheme of a new ſect, and he ſucceeded. He hired a chapel in London, and opened a ſubſcription. The ſubſcribers as he expected were numerous and of all ſects. This bold and uncommon deſign made a great noiſe; two letters, one from the late king of Pruſſia, and the other from Voltaire to Williams, in which theſe great men loaded him with encomiums, ſerved to make the affair more ſplendid. As this perſon joined to great abilities, much acquaintance with the world, he ſet every engine at work, for the ſucceſs of his enterprize. Now was diſplayed a circumſtance hitherto unheard of, a numerous aſſembly of people, profeſſing different religions collected under one roof, and having laid aſide all myſteries and ceremonies, adoring in concert, the God of the univerſe. The performance of duty, and the practice of pure morality, were the object of the ſect. The divine worſhip had ſomething very impoſing in its ſimplicity; but the great monotony of it, was too little for the bulk of the people, it was too much for the rational theiſt, who could not be convin-

ced of the neceſſity of divine ſervice. The thing conſequently could not laſt; theſe aſſemblies have ceaſed for many years, and the chapel has become the property of a tribe of methodiſts. Williams at firſt publiſhed his liturgy under the following title: "A Liturgy according to the general principles of religion and morality," an excellent work, which had great ſucceſs, and will always be read with pleaſure.

Deiſm is in a great meaſure the cauſe of the frequent ſuicides committed in England, and we find in the Engliſh liturgy a prayer to God, to deliver his ſervants from ſo dreadful a temptation. Suicide which has become ſo frequent in Paris, but which does not make ſo much noiſe there as in London, proves in my opinion that this epidemical evil is not ſo much occaſioned by climate or pit coal as ſome have imagined. The laws of England conſider ſuicide as a diſeaſe of the mind, which far from deſerving puniſhment, merits compaſſion. The puniſhment, which to the ſhame of ſound reaſon, is ſtill in many countries attached to the commiſſion of this crime, has no effect on the deſperate victim, but falls entirely on his innocent and diſconſolate family.

Suicide gives birth in this country to very ſingular ſcenes. I ſaw one day a man

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in mean apparel whoſe air however beſpoke him above the common rank, walking, backwards and forwards, on the baluſtrade of Blackfriars bridge, immerſed in deep thought. The danger he was in, made him be taken notice of, and gave the perſons who were paſſing great uneaſineſs; to the intreaties they made him to come down, he returned no anſwer; at laſt one of the ſpectators becoming more importunate than the reſt, he aſked him if he would do him a favour. The other gave his promiſe, and the man begged of him to go to a certain perſon whom he named, and whoſe place of abode he exactly deſcribed, and tell what he ſaw. He had no ſooner ſaid this, than he precipitated himſelf into the Thames.

The conduct of a young nobleman, the only ſon of lord Milton, was ſtill more extraordinary, and gave riſe to many diſmal reflections. Young, handſome, amiable, rich, and tenderly beloved by his father, admired by the women, having the unobſtructed proſpect of a long carreer of riches and honours, a diſtaſte of life took poſſeſſion of his mind. Too greedy of the pleaſures of life, he had devoured, not enjoyed them; and his dreadful deſign, was the reſult of groſs and inconſiderate behaviour. He goes to a bagnio, calls for a dozen of girls, and orders every thing neceſſary for

their entertainment. Then having ſhut the door, he commands them to amuſe him with the moſt voluptuous and laſcivious attitudes they could invent. In about an hour he diſmiſſes them with preſents, draws a piſtol from his pocket, and ſhoots himſelf through the head. Such undoubtedly were the laſt efforts which this unfortunate young man could employ, to awaken his debilitated ſenſes, and to procure him the bleſſing of exiſtence; they were unhappily ſo ill choſen that they could not ſucceed. This event happened in 1776.

It is melancholy to think that this diſguſt at life, ſhould have taken hold of the mind of ſo great a man as lord Clive, who likewiſe put a period with his own hands, to his glorious carreer. It is neither his rank nor his vaſt wealth, which makes him great in my eyes, but his great qualities, and exploits in India: all of which belong to the modern hiſtory of Indoſtan, ſo intereſting, and ſo little known in Europe. The attention I have paid to it, convinces me, that Clive as a general and a ſtateſman, would have made in Europe as brilliant a figure as in Aſia, had not circumſtances carried him abroad. Obſerve, that I am only praiſing his talents; I would be far from ſaying as much of his character. If the cries of Indians and of Europeans deſpoiled and oppreſſed,

oppreſſed, had not made themſelves heard from the ſhores of the Ganges to the banks of the Thames, his immenſe riches would atteſt his inſatiable cupidity. All his treaſures however could not defend him from a ſhameful proſecution, or from the enquiries of parliament, which inſenſibly augmenting the black melancholy, which continually preyed upon his mind, precipitated the fatal event, which delivered the world from the ſcourge of India.

The Jews are allowed in England as in Holland, the free exerciſe of their religion; accordingly their numbers encreaſe continually, as well as their wealth. We are aſtoniſhed at the difference between the Portugueſe and the German Jews eſtabliſhed in this iſland. Dreſs, language, manners, cleanlineſs, politeneſs, every thing diſtinguiſhes them, much to the advantage of the former, who have little to diſtinguiſh them from Chriſtians. That difference is diſcernible even in their public worſhip and prejudices; the phyſignomony is the only thing they have in common. The famous Toland, ſo early as the year 1715, recommended the naturalization of this people, which took place in 1752, by act of parliament. But the general diſcontent of the nation occaſioned by the German Jews, a claſs of men, deteſted as the offscourings

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of humanity, obliged the parliament to repeal that act, the very next year. All the children of Iſrael who are obliged to quit Germany and Holland, take refuge in England, where they live by cheating and nocturnal rapine; and if they do not themſelves ſteal, they aid the thief in concealing and vending the ſtolen goods. Thus they are ſo much abhorred by the Engliſh, that the honeſty of the Portugueſe Jews cannot obliterate the unfavourable impreſſions which this troop of banditti has made on them.

There is of this nation a very extraordinary man, who for thirty years has been celebrated in the cabaliſtic annals. He is named Cain Chenul Falk, and is generally known under the name of Dr Falkon. A Count de Ranzow who died lately in the ſervice of France with the rank of field marſhal, affirms in his *Memoires cabaliſtiques, magiques*, &c. that he ſaw Falk at Brunſwick, at an eſtate belonging to his father, and in preſence of many known perſons whom he names, and calls to witneſs the truth of what he advances. Whether Falk made uſe of the method practiced by Schropffer in the ſame caſe, I do not know. It is however certain, that Falk at preſent lives in London without ever having aſſumed the character of a cabaliſt. He occupies

pies a large houſe with a ſmall number of domeſtics, carries on no trade, lives very ſoberly, and gives liberally to the poor. When he goes abroad, which he does very ſeldom, he is always wrapped up in a great cloak, which ſuits his long white beard, his noble and intereſting figure. He is at preſent upwards of ſeventy years of age. I will not here attempt to relate the many ſtrange and incredible things which are told of this man. It is probable that this Dr Falkon is ſome able chemiſt, who has acquired ſome knowledge in that ſcience which he does not chuſe to communicate. A few years ago, a certain prince very zealous in the ſearch after the philoſophers ſtone, wanted to ſee him; he called at his houſe but was refuſed admittance.

It will be eaſily imagined, that in a city like London, there are not wanting many madmen who would wiſh to make gold. As they have a high idea of the knowledge of the Germans in alchemy, the Engliſh often confide this great proceſs to their care, and furniſh the expence. But magic, content with exerciſing her deſpotic authority over the ten circles of antient Germany, has not as yet with adventurous flight traverſed the ocean. If this inept and ridiculous paſſion ſhall ever take root in England,

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the effects will be aſtoniſhing on a nation which always runs to extremes.

Linguet in the year 1777 went to London with the proud deſign of rectifying the national character. He announced it publicly, and his annals were to operate this wonderful change. He imagined that the eyes of the whole nation were fixed on him, but how much was he diſappointed in his expectation! He lived entirely unknown in a country where fine words are not ſo much admired as good deeds. As he did not underſtand Engliſh, (though he afterwards acquired as much of the language as enabled him to make out a newſpaper,) as the laws, the conſtitution, the manners, the cuſtoms of the nation he came to inſtruct, were all unknown to him, and as notwithſtanding he wanted to decide and to dogmatiſe on every thing, his ſoporific productions only inſpired the few Engliſh who read them with a generous pity; and they did not even do him the honour to prove to him that he doated. By an effect of that aſtoniſhing contraſt, which exiſts between Paris and London, and which in morals and phyſics is continued to infinity, that man, who in the capital of his own country, had attracted the attention of multitudes of every age, and ſex, and condition, remained in London, notwithſtanding

withſtanding the boldneſs of his writings, in the moſt profound obſcurity. The moſt convincing proof I can give of what I advance, is the perfect ſilence which all the newſpapers and other periodical publications in London, obſerved with regard to him, and his brilliant annals; though every body knows that in theſe nothing is omitted that can in any way be intereſting to England. During the twelve months that Linguet reſided at London, he was known but to very few people; many reſpectable and learned Engliſhmen, who had not concerned themſelves with the literary ſquabbles of France, were even ignorant of his exiſtence. His annals though printed in London were not read there. A man ſo puffed up with ſelf-love, and who had ſo haughtily announced, that he came to reform and to enlighten the nation, muſt neceſſarily have been piqued to the higheſt degree by ſuch a neglect. He accordingly reſolved to be revenged. Linguet like Rouſſeau had long before that, formed the deſign of making himſelf famous by his paradoxes. With much leſs genius than the author of Emilius, he might however flatter himſelf with ſome ſucceſs. Eloquence, and the happy art of throwing on ſubjects the moſt favourable light, ſophiſtry, a cutting ſtile, and impoſing language, were more than

ſufficient to procure him readers in abundance.

Linguet's inclination for paradoxes ſoon grew into a real paſſion. His ſelf-love was flattered by viewing certain objects in quite a different light from other men. This was what made him, when in France, write a panegyric on two monſters, Tiberius, and Nero; afterwards an eulogium on deſpotiſm; that the chains of ſlavery were preferable in his eyes to all the charms of liberty, that bread is deteſtable food, with other fooleries of the ſame kind. Hitherto the Engliſh ſeemed to have found favour in his eyes; but now, when they had the impertinence not to read his annals which were written for their inſtruction, he reſolved to overwhelm them, the ungrateful wretches, with the whole weight of his greatneſs. He began by informing us, that "England does not poſſeſs a ſingle great man; that its boaſted Conſtitution is good for nothing, that the Engliſh are not induſtrious, that their arts and manufactures were inconſiderable; their marine deſpicable, their officers and ſailors, poltroons, and ignorant, and laſtly that Garrick was always a very indifferent player." Linguet had not the honour of being acquainted with this great man; he founded his judgement on the action and declamation peculiar to the

Engliſh

Engliſh, and it was by analogy, by compariſon with other actors in vogue, that he modeſtly decided, that the talents of Garrick were but ordinary. His quality of Frenchman made hisopinion of Shakeſpeare and of the Engliſh theatre in general, more excuſeable. He laviſhed all the gall of his wit, when he ſpoke of that immortal poet, and heſitated not to rank him in the numerous claſs of wretched ſcribblers. The tranſlations he made of ſome of his tragedies were abſolutely falſe, and he put his imagination to the rack, that he might burleſque them, and render them ridiculous. He ſurpaſſed even Voltaire in this deſign, who rendered ſtrict juſtice to the Engliſh, ſo long as no compariſons were made of their works with his.

Linguet affirmed that a voyage round the world, was of all things in the world the moſt uſeleſs; "All the advantage, ſays he, that England will reap from an enterprize ſo coſtly, will be to enrich its Muſeum with a heap of ſtraw." He run out againſt the philoſophers who had made that voyage; he reproached them with not bringing to Europe the famous bread-fruit tree, and with not being able to write any accounts of their voyage, that a perſon could read. This impudent accuſation is ſufficiently refuted, by the writings of the

Forfters, which, when Linguet was thus expreſſing himſelf, had been a long while in the hands of the world; but it is probable he was unacquainted with them. It was natural to his diſpoſition; and therefore we ought not to be ſurpriſed at it. In the laſt number of his annals, before his admiſſion into the Baſtile, he had undertaken to prove, that Newton's ſyſtem of gravitation, was but a contemptible hypothеſis. The cataſtrophe that deprived us for ſome time of the happineſs of hearing any thing of him, deprived us alſo of that proof which he ſtill owes us. It is not perhaps ſo eaſy as Linguet imagined, to overturn with words, a little wit and much ſophiſtry, a truth founded on the principles of mathematics, and natural philoſophy, and of an authenticity generally received.

Linguet lived peaceably in England; he hired a large agreeable and well furniſhed houſe; but when war was declared between France and England, he thought it would ſhow a want of the patriotiſm he had ſo much preached up, to remain any longer among the enemies of his dear country. His enemies ſpread the report that the Engliſh miniſtry had commanded him to depart, which is falſe and even unlikely. Linguet was never ſuſpected to be a ſpy. With all his talents, he would I believe

have

have very ill acquitted himself of that shameful occupation. We will confess, however, that though the knowledge of that singular man was vague, superficial, and without any solid foundation, he possessed an eloquence that inchants; his writings are models of elegance, and no French writer in our days in my opinion possesses so brilliant a stile. The boldness of his productions could not make any great noise in a country where crowds of impudent scribblers daily infest the public papers with their virulent poison. Linguet compared to them wrote with great moderation. If then we see him quitting London, where he led a quiet and easy life, and selling his furniture at a low price, and flying like a man who was pursued, it was merely to make a parade of his patriotism, and to ingratiate himself with the king, who it is known read his works with pleasure. The event shewed, that he had sacrificed himself for those who were ungrateful.

CHAP. VI.

THE great diſtinguiſhing feature in the character of the Engliſh, and that which is peculiar to them is *public ſpirit*, a virtue ſo much unknown in other countries, that no other language can expreſs it in terms that ſufficiently conveys the greatneſs and ſublimity of the idea. This public ſpirit conſiſts in the active inclination and zeal of each individual in particular to co-operate in advancing the general good. People of the loweſt claſs, often poſſeſs no other virtue but this public ſpirit, but they poſſeſs it in an eminent degree. We have ſeen, in the American war, ſome common ſailors agree among themſelves, not to accept the bounty which the ſtate deſtined for their ſervices; but entring voluntarily into the navy; and deſiring that the money they could claim might be given to thoſe, who, having leſs good inclination than they, might be more tempted by the proſpect of gain. I have known poor people who at elections for members of parliament, and other ſimilar circumſtances, remained deaf to all the lucrative propoſals that were made to them, and reſerved their votes for thoſe of whoſe patriotiſm

and

and abilities they were convinced. The juſtices of the peace are rarely very wealthy men, and are unwilling to incur the diſpleaſure of the court. It is uncommon however to ſee any other conſideration overpower, in their minds, the patriotiſm that animates them. In 1765, when the weavers in London, diſtreſſed by the want of work, aſſembled to preſent a petition to parliament, it was feared, though they were very peaceable in the beginning, that ſo great a number of diſcontented people might proceed to enormities. It is true that theſe apprehenſions were but too well founded; in the mean time, when the juſtices of peace were required to diſperſe the firſt meetings of theſe unhappy men, they replied, "That they knew no law that forbid the people to aſſemble, in order to lay their juſt complaints before the ſenate of the nation.

But what further proves how ardently this public ſpirit glows in the boſom of the Engliſh, is the great number of hoſpitals, and foundations of every kind, which are endowed by individuals, and conſtantly maintained by the money of others. Without reckoning the military hoſpitals of Greenwich and of Chelſea, which draw their revenue from the public funds, and which reſemble palaces rather than houſes of charity London, contains a prodigious

number

number, which are regulated with the greateſt order, and kept with aſtoniſhing cleanlineſs and neatneſs; St Bartholemew's hoſpital alone can accomodate five thouſand patients, and it is one of the fineſt edifices in the kingdom. Bedlam, the hoſpital for lunatics, is remarkable for its convenience, and the attention beſtowed on that wretched claſs of human beings. Two ſtatues are placed at the gate, by an Engliſh ſculptor called Cibber, which are conſidered among the fineſt pieces of the kind which England has produced. The firſt repreſents a man abſorbed in the deepeſt melancholy, the ſecond a furious maniac in chains. Theſe two figures have ſo much life and expreſſion that they diſpute the palm with the maſter-pieces of the chiſſel in Weſtminſter Abbey.

Oxford has twenty colleges, and Cambridge twelve, all provided with ſuperb and well furniſhed libraries, likewiſe founded and maintained by individuals. It is to ſimilar foundations, that the magnificent Exchanges of London, and Briſtol, with the immenſe foundling hoſpital owe their exiſtence. Single individuals too have alſo conſtructed at their own expence, ſquares, harbours, pavements, monuments, &c. without exacting the ſmalleſt privileges. The members of parliament, are never

more

more unanimous than in thoſe caſes where eſtabliſhments of public utility come before them. It was at a time when the court and the oppoſition were exaſperated at each other to the higheſt degree that the miniſtry propoſed the building of a Muſeum, and nobody oppoſed it. Theſe patriotic ſentiments appear even in their diverſions. In the ſaloon of the famous garden at Vauxhall, are repreſented the moſt brilliant actions of ſome Engliſh generals. It is thus that the memory of a Clive, of a Boſcawen, of an Amherſt, are eterniſed in this ſaloon, and that their genius inflames their countrymen, even in the midſt of diſſipation, and pleaſure, with a noble emulation of trading in their footſteps. It is very extaordinary in a place where every thing that can awaken and flatter the ſenſes is exhibited, to ſee groups of perſons on every hand occupied in contemplating thoſe pictures, and in talking of the hiſtory of their times.

This is the origin of that lively intereſt which every individual citizen takes in public affairs: each thinks himſelf immediately concerned in whatever is going forward. This idea gives occaſion to very ſingular cuſtoms. They congratulate one another on the gain of a battle, and this is done by the very meaneſt perſon who has not the ſmalleſt intereſt in it. The glory

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of the nation, of which every individual as a man is a member, goes ſo near their heart that I have ſeen men of very phlegmatic tempers in other reſpects, felicitate themſelves in ſuch circumſtances with ſuch tranſports of joy, that you would have believed they had drawn the great prize in the lottery. This behaviour is general. The king receives addreſſes of congratulation even from the moſt diſtant counties: and he gives anſwers to thoſe addreſſes, with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs. If a naval victory has been obtained, the admiral compliments the lords of the admiralty, who thank him in return, &c.

Nothing is ſo flattering for a mortal man, nothing ſo much elevates his genius to great things, than that ſort of enthuſiaſm which his exploits produce on his fellow citizens. Nothing is ſo grateful to him as to hear its eulogium in every mouth. The ſolemn thanks of the parliament for ſervices rendered to the nation, the particular letters of thanks and preſents from counties, cities, ſocieties, feaſts, public entertainments, cries of joy, the tranſports of a whole people, public monuments &c. theſe to a great ſoul are rewards, which perhaps yield in nothing to the magnificent triumphs of ancient Rome.

It is only at the diſtance of ages that our eyes, which almoſt always judge amiſs with regard to what paſſes near us, accuſtom themſelves to conſider things in their true light. We admire with enthuſiaſm the actions of the great men of antiquity, while we obſerve with cold approbation, the ſame actions repeated by our cotemporaries. Of this General Wolfe is a ſtriking example. Thoſe who are familiar with the events of the ſeven years war, ſo remarkable in the annals of the world, know that that great man died in the field of battle near Quebeck; but few know perhaps that to him alone, was owing the ſubjugation of Canada to the Britiſh yoke. The whole army was of opinion that Quebec was impregnable, that the ſiege ſhould be raiſed, and that a retreat was adviſeable. The fleet and the army were of one opinion. Wolfe alone was for engaging, and he engaged. In the midſt of the action, a fatal ſhot reached him, and he fell without ſenſe or motion. A few ſoldiers carried him out of the throng; he ſtill breathed, but his eyes were ſhut, and he ſeemed to have loſt all ſenſation, and the uſe of ſpeech. In the mean time, the French army got into confuſion and fled; the few ſoldiers who had quitted their wounded general, cried out, "See, they fly." Theſe words ſtruck the ear of the great man who was ſtrug-

gling

gling with death, and ſeemed for a moment to reſtore him to life. "Who fly?" ſaid he, opening his languid eyes—'The French'—"Then, thank Heaven, I die content;" and he expired. So died Epaminondas in the arms of victory, which he implored of the Gods with his laſt ſigh.

It muſt be granted to the praiſe of the Engliſh, that the remembrance of this hero is far from being extinct among them. Even the populace ſtill relate the anecdote of his death, and deplore his loſs. Wolfe, perhaps a greater general than Marlborough, was poſſeſſed, over and above his military talents, of an excellent heart, and of the moſt amiable diſpoſition; and, accordingly he was adored by the army. He was only ſix and thirty years of age when his country loſt him. Perhaps he would never have been heard of, had not Pitt, who knew how to appretiate merit, paſſing over the formalities of military etiquette, conſided to him the command of the army.

The Duke of Nivernois, who went to England in 1762, in quality of Ambaſſador from the Court of France, in order to ſign the treaty of peace, felt the effects of this public ſpirit in a very agreeable manner. His firſt ſtage from Dover, was at Canterbury. His retinue having gone before, he had only a-

long

long with him a few domeſtics. The innkeeper, at whoſe houſe he ſtopped, was unwilling to let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity. A man, ſaid he of ſuch high quality, intruſted with a power to reconcile two rival nations after a bloody war, will not, upon his entry into the kingdom deſcend to wrangle with an innkeeper, about his bill. He was in the right. He aſked neither more nor leſs than fifty guineas for one night's lodging. The inſolence of the demand aſtoniſhed the duke, who however paid the bill without heſitation, and continued his journey. He would ſoon have forgotten this ſpecies of robbery, and have left the innkeeper, who thought all was over when he had got the money, to enjoy his booty; but the inhabitants of Canterbury thought otherwiſe. Notwithſtanding their natura antipathy to the name of Frenchman, they were enraged at this behaviour, conſidering it as a crime ſo much the more deteſtable as it it was a ſtigma on the honour of the nation. A meeting of the principal inhabitants was therefore called; a letter was written in their name to the duke, earneſtly praying that he would proſecute the innkeeper. The duke thanked them for their attention, but poſitively declined any proſecution. The gentlemen then reſolved to avenge his cauſe themſelves. The houſe of the raſcal, was the largeſt and the beſt

in the town, and the reſort to it was great; clubs and ſocieties met at it, and aſſemblies, always followed by great entertainments; his impoſition was made public, and nobody went near him; even the common people avoided his houſe with indignation. The innkeeper did every thing in his power to deprecate the general diſpleaſure, but in vain; the people were deaf to all his prayers and repreſentations, for nothing could palliate the crime. Unable any longer to keep his inn, he was ſoon attacked by his creditors, and reduced to beggary. He died a few years ago in London, a waiter in a tavern, after having had the mortification to read in every newſpaper, the account of his offence, and of the juſt puniſhment that was the conſequence of it.

Similar traits are not uncommon in England; but when they arrive at us, which happens but ſeldom, they are always ſo diſfigured, and appear under ſo uncouth a form that we laugh at them, inſtead of paying them the juſt tribute of admiration. The generous reſolution of the Engliſh ladies in the year 1742 is well known. The fate of Maria Thereſa, the empreſs of Germany, harraſſed on every hand by enemies, affected them ſo much, that they unanimouſly reſolved to ſend her their jewels.

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A ſubſcription was opened; the old dutcheſs of Marlborough, widow of the great general of that name, ſubſcribed firſt, the ſum of L.20,000. The total ſum amounted in a few days to L.100,000. The dutcheſs then went to the Imperial ambaſſador to aſk him how this ſum might be with the greateſt ſecurity ſent to his ſovereign. The miniſter wrote to his court for advice. The Empreſs accompanied her refuſal of the preſent with a letter, in which ſhe expreſſed in the moſt affecting manner, how much ſhe was ſenſible of this generous offer, adding that it was of the nation in general, and not from individuals that ſhe expected aſſiſtance. If ſuch magnanimity in individuals of a foreign nation, who, not being acquainted with Maria Thereſa, could have no intereſted views, and only obeyed the moſt noble of ſentiments, were conſecrated by an antiquity of ages it would be an object of our admiration, of our aſtoniſhment. It made a deep impreſſion on the great ſoul of the Empreſs Queen. However treacherous on other occaſions the memory of the great may be, with reſpect to the ſervices of individuals, that great princeſs never could forget the generous behaviour of the Engliſh ladies, not merely out of policy, but from the nobleſt and pureſt motives. A friend of mine, an Engliſh merchant, called

Greenwood, who happened in 1771, to be at Vienna, had aſked and obtained an audience of the Empreſs. Some private affairs were the ſubject of diſcourſe, but in the audience, the Empreſs ſaid in the German language, which the merchant underſtood, " At your return into your native country, I beg of you to make known to the Engliſh ladies, that I ſhall be all my life penetrated with gratitude for the intereſt they once took in my affairs, and that I will never forget it."

Foreigners, and eſpecially the French laugh at the earneſt concern which the Engliſh take in political affairs and think it extremely ridiculous. Lord Tyrconnel, an Iriſhman by extraction, but who having been born and educated in France, had conſequently adopted its manners, its cuſtoms and taſte, went, in his thirtieth year, for the firſt time into England. As he was well acquainted with the language, he was obliged with great unwillingneſs to liſten in every company he happened to be in, to political diſcuſſions, and his averſion to theſe was carried almoſt to diſguſt. Determined to divert himſelf inſtead of being eternally teaſed with ſuch diſcourſe, he repaired to a bagnio, and deſired ſome girls to ſup with him: but he had hardly ſat down to table, before the girls began to

talk

talk of parliamentary debates. It was in vain that his lordſhip, confounded with what he heard, endeavoured to give a gayer turn to the converſation; it had too many charms for theſe nymphs; they perpetually returned to it, till at laſt, the Frenchified Iriſhman, loſing all patience, broke from them, and departed next morning for France.

There was held in 1781, at Weſtminſter, a meeting of the principal people of the diſtrict, at which the Duke of Northumberland was called to the chair. The purpoſe of the meeting was to aſſiſt the government by voluntary ſubſcription to ſupport the American war. The aſſembly was numerous, the principal nobility of the place were preſent, and the Duke had ſcarcely opened the buſineſs, when an unknown perſon came from among the crowd, and thanking him for his patriotiſm offered the ſum of one thouſand pounds. The meeting was ſurpriſed at ſuch generoſity in an obſcure citizen, but ſtill more ſo, when he abſolutely perſiſted in having his name ſet down. "My offer ſaid he to the Duke, may appear to many to be mere oſtentation; it is by no means ſo; I only wiſh to contribute without making any noiſe, all in my power to the ſucceſs and ſafety of our common country, and this is what makes me offer the ſum that I am

able to ſpare for that purpoſe." When he had ſaid this, he depoſited in the hands of the Duke, bank bills for a thouſand pounds and retired.

Such actions as this cannot be performed but from true regard for their native ſoil; it would not be difficult to find a thouſand perſons in England, ready to make the greateſt ſacrifices for their country. This ſentiment is common to every claſs of citizens. Lord Camden, formerly Chancellor, one of the moſt honourable men that ever exiſted, revered at once by the King, the people, and the parliament, reſigned his place which is as lucrative as it is honourable, becauſe he could not approve the ſyſtem of Lord North. He choſe rather to content himſelf with his ſeat as a ſenator, among the peers than to contribute as a member of adminiſtration to the misfortunes of his country. Other reſpectable perſons who followed his example being immediately ſucceeded by others who were willing to proſecute the fatal plan that had been deviſed, the too famous miniſtry of North was gradually formed, a miniſtry for ever memorable in the annals of England, by the loſs of America, and the mortifications of every kind which the nation experienced.

It was alſo from a ſpirit of patriotiſm that the Duke of Athol diveſted himſelf of his right to the ſovereignty of the Iſle of Man, and thus ſacrificed to the public good the greater part of his revenue. That iſland which in the year 1763 contained twenty thouſand inhabitants, was a rendezvous for ſmugglers of every trading nation, who there carried on a very gainful traffic. The tolls ariſing from the turnpike roads alone in that year produced to the Duke the ſum of two thouſand five hundred pounds. The vicinity of England and of Ireland, facilitated greatly the practice of ſmuggling. Proviſions being alſo exceedingly cheap there, ſhips after having landed their cargoes, might victual themſelves at a ſmall expence. Veſſels of all nations bound for India repaired thither in great numbers, and often whole fleets came to anchor on its coaſts. It is inconceivable how much injury this iſland did to the revenues of the ſtate. As the Duke was a ſubject of England, the abuſe would very ſoon have been rectified in any other country; but the right of property there being ever held ſacred, no means could be employed, but that of perſuaſion to induce him to reſign his rights. This he did in the year 1765, and the treaſury gave him the ſum of ſixty thouſand pounds with an annual penſion of two thouſand. The Iſle

of

of Man loſt conſiderably, but the government of England gained much.

The Engliſh miniſters are rarely true patriots. Their great power, and the facility with which they can amaſs immenſe wealth, but too often claſh with the ſpirit of patriotiſm. Will it be believed that in a kingdom, where the power of the monarch is ſo reſtrained, that of the miniſters ſhould be more extended than in moſt of the moſt arbitrary monarchies? This however is the caſe in England, where the King, according to the received principles, can do no wrong, and when the miniſters are reſponſible for all. If they have influence in parliament, the honours and dignities, and even the treaſure of the nation are in their hands; and they diſpoſe of them at pleaſure. It is very extraordinary to ſee a ſimple ſquire enjoying this high office, and making earls, and dukes according to his fancy, beſtowing honours which he himſelf does not poſſeſs, and giving penſions to his friends, and lucrative and laſting offices while the duration of his own power is tottering and uncertain. Thus Charles Fox in the ſpace of eighteen months was twice the all powerful miniſter of a powerful kingdom, and twice a beggar, living on the contributions of his friends. Hiſtory does not furniſh ſuch another inſtance. The needy

needy circumſtances in which he ſtill languiſhes are not the conſequence of a diſintereſted adminiſtration. His tranſient favour, his great diſſipation, and the fallacious hope of holding the reigns of government for a long time, were the cauſe of his twice quitting the miniſtry as poor as when he undertook it.

Of all the Engliſh miniſters none were ſuch zealous patriots as the immortal Lord Chatham, who joined to the moſt uncommon talents a noble mind, and an unbounded love of his country. Never did any miniſter enjoy ſuch a general confidence as this great man; never was there more harmony between the king, his parliament, and the people, than under his adminiſtration, glorious indeed, but alas too ſhort for the intereſts of England. It is to be preſumed, that had it laſted but two years longer, the American war would not have happened, and the condition in which England found itſelf in the year 1762 would have been but the dawn of a high degree of power and glory it which it would have been at this moment. Chatham was of opinion that war ſhould have been declared againſt Spain in 1760, for he foreſaw that upon the arrival of the plate fleet hoſtilities would be commenced by that kingdom. It would have fallen into the

hands of the Engliſh, who might then have given law to the court of Madrid. This wiſe advice was neglected, and the prophecy was literally fulfilled. The galleons had hardly entred the port of Cadiz, when the Spaniards threw off the maſk and declared war. He then adviſed to take poſſeſſion of all the French iſlands in the Weſt Indies, and to reſtore none; this would have given a blow to the marine of France, which would never have recovered the ſtroke. The Chevalier d'Eon has laid before us the reaſons which determined the Engliſh miniſtry to act otherwiſe and to ſtrive, if we may uſe the expreſſion, to re-eſtabliſh the naval power of their rivals.

The zeal with which Lord Chatham oppoſed the American war, and the certainty with which he predicted its faral conſequences are well known. The following is nearly what he ſaid in the Houſe of Lords on this ſubject; "You have no right my Lords, over the pockets, far leſs over the lives of your fellow ſubjects in America; neceſſity has ſubjected them to our laws; as to their trade, they ſubmit to the rules of our national commerce, becauſe they find them wiſe and neceſſary, they conſent to purchaſe wool in order to give it to your weavers and manufacturers, becauſe

they

they love to do you good, but after that, when they put on their cloaths, have they not a right to ſay, *the cloaths are ours?* They will ſay farther; we do not chuſe to give you our cloaths, for who will aſſure us that you will not ſoon totally deſtroy them. My lords, theſe good Americans have ſupported you theſe forty years; not only do they furniſh you with the raw materials of your commerce cheaper than other nations, but you do not export to them any thing except the ſame materials prepared; and that ſort of commerce is very profitable for you, as they have not a ſhilling which you do not receive. There is the grand, the laſting, the ſolid tax which America pays you, and which prevents this reſpectable edifice from tumbling to ruin. Either they will ſcorn our attempts, or they will let us ſeverely feel how ſenſible they are of our injurious conduct. If they have phlegm enough, they will make you comprehend with great energy what you are going to throw away; if they take up arms, you will be the firſt and perhaps the only ſufferers in that deſperate proceeding; you will be ruined while a thouſand reſources remain to them. I am old, I have grown grey in buſineſs; the council I give you, is the fruit of a long experience, perhaps it is not to be deſpiſed. Recal that handful of ſoldiers, who have been

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guilty by your orders of bathing their hands in the blood of their fellow citizens who neither will nor can obey you. Be the friends of America, be ſo for your own intereſt; what do I ſay, your very ſalvation requires it. You will deſire when it is too late to ſolicit the return of their friendſhip when the ſword of the oppreſſed ſhall be turned againſt you."

When notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances the moſt grievous laws were ſtill impoſed on the colonies, he conjured the peers to withold their conſent from them, becauſe ſaid he, they will certainly be repealed with diſgrace. I was preſent on the day that decided the fate of America, and when Chatham pronounced theſe remarkable words: "My Lords, they certainly will be repealed! I ſet my reputation at ſtake! I conſent to be taken for an ideot, if they are not repealed."

This actually happened two years afterwards, in the moſt ignominious and humiliating manner; for they ſent commiſſioners of peace to the Congreſs, who would not even deign to give them an audience.

During the courſe of his wiſe adminiſtration it appeared that the whole miniſterial power was concentred in Chatham, and

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that all the other miniſters were but ſubalterns. Under him his country acquired the glory hitherto unheard of among the other nations of Europe, of triumphing in the ſame year (1756) in the four quarters of the world. Chatham in the beginning, was againſt ſending over troops to Germany; he ſaid, that England ſhould confine herſelf to ſupremacy by ſea; but the exploits of the great Frederick forced him to alter a ſyſtem, and to take up the idea of conquering America in Germany. He was the moſt zealous panegyriſt of the Pruſſian campaigns; he ſpared in his accounts of them, neither flowers nor metaphors; it is true, that in the fire of his oratory he often choſe them unſucceſsfully enough, and ſometimes ſurpaſſed the bounds of truth. Thus it happened, when he was deſcribing the battle of Roſbach, " religion ſaid he, gnaſhing her teeth with rage, kept in the van of the Pruſſians, liberty paraded on the field of battle, traverſed the ranks, and enflamed the ardour of the warriors, and God himſelf, hurling his thunder upon the oppoſing legions, made them fall conquered at the feet of their enemies."

The known probity of this great man, his conduct always open and conſiſtent, the happy choice he made of his generals, without being dazzled by rank and ho-

nours or titles; his indefatigable activity, which he was able to communicate to all around him, the boldneſs of his plans, laid with prudence and reflection, and executed with warmth and intrepidity, made him the idol of the nation. Statues were erected to him, both in Europe and America. That ſet up by the town of Corke in Ireland coſt four thouſand pounds Sterling. Medals were ſtruck in his honour; his figure on one ſide, on the other this inſcription: To the man, who, after having ſaved his country, was able by his eloquence to preſerve its colonies. Coffee-houſes were called by his name, as well as taverns, public gardens and ſtreets. In every houſe, buſts of him were to be met with of all ſizes, and of every kind of materials; the poor contented themſelves with a copper medal of him which they conſidered as the moſt precious of their effects.

France had not for a century ſo dangerous an enemy as the earl of Chatham. He was no courtier; he did not conceal even in time of peace, his averſion for a court life, as he was convinced that one would not be a favourite there, and at the ſame time ſerve the ſtate well. It was always his principle to humble France; he never ceaſed to avow it in parliament, he even confeſſed it in 1760 to the Spaniſh ambaſ-

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fador, who had eſpouſed its intereſts. " I will not depart from my opinion till the Tower of London be taken ſword in hand."

The love which the whole nation bore him, was the cauſe of his ſucceſs in eſtabliſhing a national militia, which had ever ſeemed impracticable, of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak further in the ſequel.

When in the year 1776 the American war began to fill people with alarm, his introduction into the cabinet was earneſtly wiſhed for. Propoſals were made to him with the promiſe of ſubmitting to any conditions he ſhould think proper to require. But how could any one flatter himſelf with ſeeing this reſpectable nobleman take a part in adminiſtration with that band which then held the reigns of government! " I would rather chuſe ſaid he, to aſſociate with the plague now raging in Conſtantinople than with the miniſtry of North."

He did not fail however, notwithſtanding his numerous infirmities to attend the parliament punctually; wrapt up in flannel, and leaning on crutches, he went thither to carry terror to the ſouls of the miniſtry. He was thus occupied, when having exert-

ed the little ſtrength that remained, to him he fell into a ſwoon. The accident very much affected the lords who were preſent. The houſe adjourned. He ſurvived but a few weeks this parliamentary ſkirmiſh which accelerated his death, in ſo much, that it may be ſaid of him with juſtice, that he fell fighting for his country. Its danger employed his thoughts to his lateſt hour. Lord Cambden viſited him on his death-bed. He was the intimate friend of this great man; his untainted honour, his talents, and a conformity of ſentiment, had united them in the ſtricteſt bonds of friendſhip. Socrates was engaged at his dying hour in reaſoning on philoſophy with his friends; and theſe two great men employed the ſame awful moment, in political converſation. At laſt Chatham finding his end approaching, took the hand of his friend, and cried, "dear Camden ſave my country!" and expired.

The ſtrongeſt proof that can be given of the virtues of this great man, is that he was ſeveral years the abſolute miniſter of Great Britain, without becoming either more vain or more rich. Always modeſt and complacent, it was only the enemies of his country that felt the effects of his noble pride. One of my countrymen, an inhabitant of London, had a favour to aſk of

George

George II. He applied to Chatham, then Secretary of State, who at that time ſtill bore the reſpectable name of Pitt, and who had always maintained a particular predilection for the German nation. As it was a favour he had to aſk, the miniſter adviſed him to apply to the King in perſon, inſtructed him in what he had to ſay, and furniſhed him with reaſons to induce the King to grant his requeſt. But as it was abſolutely neceſſary that this perſon ſhould preſent a petition, Chatham's complaiſance went ſo far as to deſire one of his ſecretaries to write one for him, though he was a man of low condition, and totally unknown to him. I could relate many other circumſtances of the ſame kind, but it would be impoſſible to cite one inſtance of his having debaſed himſelf by entring into cabals in order to arrive at his ends. Accordingly he died poor.

The parliament was aſſembled, when the news of his death was ſpread abroad. Lord North had much ado to conceal his joy; though at firſt he warmly ſeconded the propoſition made by ſome of the friends of the deceaſed to erect a monument to his memory, to have his funeral expences defrayed by the nation, and to aſſign a penſion to his family which, without it, would have been one of the pooreſt of the great

families of the kingdom. Every thing was conſented to by the miniſtry, but ſome of them ſoon repented of their generoſity.

They not only declaimed openly againſt the deciſion, but they endeavoured to under-rate the ſervices which Chatham had done the ſtate, and if not to prevent, at leaſt to obſtruct the honours it had been reſolved to pay to his memory.

The city of London, wanted to erect a monument to Lord Chatham in St Paul's Church, where none had ever been placed before. They preſented a petition to the King on whoſe conſent alone, this erection depended. He refuſed, and the monument was therefore obliged to be raiſed in one of the darkeſt corners of Weſtminſter Abbey. Many great ſolemnities appeared neceſſarily attached to obſequies performed at the expence of the nation; but the miniſters would conſent to none of them. The motion, for the Houſe of Commons to walk before the corpſe, was rejected; in the Houſe of Peers the ſame motion was negatived by a majority of one only. The city of London acted otherwiſe. Not only the magiſtrates, but the liverymen of London were zealous to pay the laſt honours to the ſhade of the immortal Chatham, and requeſted of the court, in a ſecond petition to

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inform them of the day appointed for the funeral. As this requeſt could not with decency be refuſed, they endeavoured at leaſt to prevent its effect. It was kept a ſecret till two days before the ceremony, becauſe it was well known, that no preparation could be made in the city in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time. What was expected came to paſs. The intrigues of the court were carried ſo far, that none of thoſe who in any way belonged to the court, dared appear at the burial. Thus the funeral, which had been voted at the expence of the nation, and the preparations for which had coſt immenſe ſums, was conſequently confined to an expoſition of the coffin in a large hall, lighted with candles, and hung with black; and at the end of three weeks, the domeſtic ſervants of the deceaſed, with about forty of his worthy friends, accompanied the corpſe to Weſtminſter Abbey.

This retinue though ſmall, was nevertheleſs very remarkable. The greater part of the perſons who attended, were entitled by their rank, their birth or talents, to be enumerated among the moſt illuſtrious perſonages in England: It was not a feigned affliction which appeared in their faces. I was an ocular witneſs of that affecting ſcene, which happened on the ninth of June 1778. Colonel Barre, the celebrated orator,

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in the deep abſtraction of his mind, tore the arms of Lord Chatham from the hands of his domeſtics, and bore them himſelf into the church. An innumerable crowd wept and lamented; the ſagacious repeated an exclamation of Lord Shelburne, which that reſpectable patriot had uttered a few days before in the Houſe of Lords, when contemplating the condition of his country. "I am afraid, ſaid he, that the Sun of England has ſet with Chatham, never to riſe again."

CHAP. VI.

ALTHOUGH the principal productions which form the exports of this iſland are only tin, and coal, yet the Engliſh are notwithſtanding the firſt commercial people in the world. The high price of their manufactures which makes the trade in them more difficult, does not prevent them from maintaining the rank their induſtry has acquired. This ineſtimable advantage is due to their perfect conſtitution, to their wiſe laws, and to an active and indefatigable genius. It is evident that the laſt of theſe qualities, joined to prudence and perſeverance, will extend its commerce, and add daily to its wealth. This too is the ſource of that ſpirit of conqueſt which the Engliſh and Carthaginians, to the excluſion of every other nation, made a part of their commercial ſyſtem. It never formed a part in that of the Dutch; their conqueſts were all the effects of lucky chance, at a time when they were obliged to defend, with arms in their hands, their liberty, and I may ſay their very exiſtence. The Portugueſe who were long conſtrained to protect and extend their commerce by fire and ſword, had ſtill leſs of this ſpirit of conqueſt.

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From the time of Cromwell the apparent or ſecret motive of all the wars of the Engliſh has been the extenſion of their commerce. They never ſigned a treaty of peace, from the protectorate of that great man, (I except the unhapy treaty of 1783 after the American war,) that did not bring them ſome inconteſtable advantages. Every Engliſh miniſter, whatever other difference might exiſt between them with regard to their principles, their manner of thinking, their particular intereſts or their talents, were always of one opinion upon this point of the national ſyſtem, and never even in the moſt critical circumſtances have they ever departed from it, and the reaſon is plain. It is the only thing that can juſtify an adminiſtration in the eyes of the people, cover their paſt faults, or add to the glory of their miniſtry.

The Duke of Bedford, if we may believe the Chevalier de Eon, was among thoſe infamous miniſters who ſold the peace of 1762 to the French. We cannot doubt this accuſation, as it comes from a perſon who early engaged in the buſineſs, and was even miniſter plenipotentiary at the Court of London, who conſequently ought to be well informed, and who even undertook to give the moſt irrefragable proofs of it. This man therefore, who did not heſitate

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to ſell his country for gold, was however capable of an action great in appearance, but which took its origin in the maxim which I have juſt now mentioned: for an Engliſh miniſter fears neither the king nor the parliament, but he never dares to brave the indignation of the people. This fear of the people is another proof of the excellence of the Britiſh Conſtitution. A courtier may arrive at honours and dignities, but an upright and ſteady conduct can alone procure him reputation, and conciliate for him the favour of the nation. This Duke of Bedford, the richeſt ſubject in the iſland, was in 1762 ſent in quality of ambaſſador to Paris to ſign the treaty of peace. His buſineſs lay with the Duc de Choiſeul, but his talents were greatly inferior to thoſe of that univerſal genius. The preliminary articles were ſigned, and ſoon after made known through all Paris. The day after their publication, an Engliſh Jew demanded an audience of the Duke of Bedford, which was granted to him. This man who had been a long time in India, communicated to him ſome obſervations he had made on thoſe preliminary articles with regard to what concerned the local circumſtances of that country; he proved to him, that for want of a ſufficient acquaintance with geography and trade, the groſſeſt faults had been committed, which

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would occaſion the loſs of many thouſand pounds to the Eaſt India Company, and be an inexhauſtible ſource of diſputes with the neighbouring nations. Bedford thought the Jew in the right, and immediately determined to repair the wrong, whatever might be the conditions. He firſt deſired the Jew to give him a note in writing of all the changes which it would be neceſſary to make. Armed with theſe inſtructions he repairs to Verſailles, waits on the Duc de Choiſeul, and makes that ſingular propoſition. " I did not think replied the latter ſmiling, that I had to do with a novice in politics, but with the miniſter of a great nation who knows the validity of a treaty ſigned with his hand." Bedford replied to this ſarcaſm with firmneſs and the noble frankneſs of a true born Engliſhman; " You are in the right, ſaid he, I have not altogether behaved in this tranſaction as an experienced miniſter. I have erred through ignorance, but I will not by ignorance aggravate the fault I have committed; for to be ſilent in a caſe of ſuch importance would draw upon me juſtly the name of a traitor. Take your choice then; either you ſhall make thoſe changes in the preliminary articles which I require, and which concern our Eaſt India Company, or I depart this inſtant to yield my head to the diſcretion of the Engliſh parliament. France could not

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do without a peace; the money which was to expedite its concluſion, was already diſpoſed of, if we may believe the Chevalier d'Eon. The duke of Choiſeul being conſtrained to yield, conſented to make theſe alterations which the Engliſh miniſter preſcribed; and the Eaſt India Company beſtowed a handſome penſion on the patriotic Jew. As the truth of this anecdote is acknowledged, one would be tempted to believe that it contradicts the accuſation of corruption I have mentioned above; but as the payment of the money from France to England was made through ſecret channels, and by the Engliſh themſelves, Bedford had no reproach of this kind to dread from his adverſary, he could even be certain of the good effects of his threats.

The name of merchant is a very reſpectable one in England; it is honoured and conſidered as the ſource of all the wealth of the ſtate. A merchant may become a Sheriff of the county, a member of parliament, and indeed any thing if his abilities are anſwerable to his ambition. A great difference however is made between a merchant who trades to foreign countries, and the ſhopkeeper who ſells in retail. Theſe laſt are called *tradeſmen*. Whether he is a toyman or a porter, whether he ſells ſilks or ſtay-tapes, he is ſtill but a tradeſman, and

cannot aſpire to any office or dignity. Many of theſe tradeſmen are very opulent, and poſſeſs immenſe warehouſes. I knew a ſhoemaker who, in one day, ſold five thouſand pairs of ſhoes, that were to be ſent to America. He kept a couple of clerks. His bills paſſed at Change for ready money.

If ſuch a man does not poſſeſs a tolerable capital, it will always be difficult for him to riſe ſo high, for none but poor people and foreigners pay ready money. Perſons of diſtinction aſk their accounts once in ſix months or in the year. The new year is generally the time of payment, and the tradeſman is obliged to wait for this term. What in ſome meaſure remedies this inconvenience is, that he is allowed in his turn to take things on credit; nor is he obliged to pay any body inſtantly, except his ſervants who muſt be paid weekly. Credit has many advantages; for it is eaſy to collect at a given time, certain ſums which would become uſeleſs during the reſt of the year, and may now be very profitably employed. By this means commerce acquires more activity, luxury more means of gratification, and debts are with greater facility contracted, and diſcharged. As it is an eſtabliſhed cuſtom in England, the wealthieſt and moſt regular people have

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no difficulty in conforming to it. Stewards eſpecially, make great gain of it. As temptations are ſo numerous, and ſtrong, and as it is ſo eaſy to yield to them without diſcovery; it is very difficult for people in theſe offices to remain honeſt men. They generally live in large and beautiful houſes of their own, have conſiderable property, and even eſtates in the country. Others poſſeſs capitals large enough to enable them to advance their maſters conſiderable ſums. The Steward chooſes his tradeſmen, and examines their accounts; what follows will ſhew perhaps how wealthy they are.

The late Duke of Newcaſtle who poſſeſſed immenſe riches, and who contrived with ordinary talents to maintain himſelf in the miniſtry for a long time, kept a ſplendid table, and often gave great entertainments. I have ſeen a copy of the butchers account for ſix months, and without reckoning game and poultry, how much do you think it amounted to? The ſum total was about eleven thouſand pounds Sterling. It is very probable that the honeſt Steward had afterwards a reckoning with the butcher, and thus the Duke with ſome little miniſterial artifices, notwithſtanding his great fortune, would never have been able to carry on this economy long. An Engliſh miniſter may in a thouſand ways acquire

public money. The very Stationers who provide the offices with paper and wax furniſh him with the means. The nation always pays theſe accounts without examining them. As the ſupplying of a ſingle office is often ſufficient to enrich a man, theſe Stationers generally offer the miniſter a certain ſum to have the honour of furniſhing the articles. Chatham alone would not liſten to any ſuch ſhameful methods, and he died poor.

Lord North puſhed this little talent to the higheſt degree of perfection, and this was what kept him ſo long in place. As he had more ambition than avarice, he took with one hand, and gave with the other, and thus daily encreaſed the number of his creatures. He did not however quit his ſtation without preaching up his own diſintereſtedneſs. At laſt in 1777 Burke, then his declared enemy, produced in the Houſe of Commons the copy of a contract that North had made with a rum merchant. This liquor was to be furniſhed to the Engliſh troops in America, which in that country is a neceſſary of life, and there paid for by the government. This rum was to be bought in the Weſt India Iſlands, and carried by a ſhort navigation to the continent. Now, in all the taverns of London, it was ſold as low as North had bargained for

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with the contractor, at the place of its manufacture. The miniſter, notwithſtanding his general indifference to ſuch accuſations, could not repel an attack ſo unexpected. He contented himſelf with the pitiful excuſe that he did not underſtand the rum trade; and when it was replied that nothing more than common ſenſe was neceſſary to perceive the abſurdity of ſigning a contract for ſome hundred thouſand pounds, if one was not acquainted with the ſubject of it, or had taken the pains of acquiring good information, he was ſilent. His friends called that imprudence which had all the appearance of premeditated knavery.

'The facility with which many things may be inſtantly acquired, which muſt firſt be brought from other countries, and conſequently are with more difficulty procured, gives great activity and induſtry to internal commerce. There is for inſtance a ſort of people in London, called cabinet makers, who have always a warehouſe filled with every kind of new furniture ready for uſe. Every thing neceſſary for the furniture of a houſe may be immediately had: ſuch as veſſels of tin, copper, glaſs, china and even ſilver. This cuſtom is exceedingly convenient for ſtrangers who come to London with an intention to ſettle. In a few hours a houſe may be hired and in a day or two

completely furniſhed. Perſons who are willing to purchaſe furniture, may take a furniſhed houſe by the year or month. This is very generally practiſed, for no family of diſtinction, coming up to London from the country, ever take up their abode in an inn; accordingly the inns there are but indifferent, while the taverns are as magnificent as commodious. The inns in the interior part of the country are as elegant as the taverns, and the innkeepers often act a diſtinguiſhed part at elections for members of parliament.

A cabinet maker employs a great number of workmen to make goods for his ſale room. This uſeful cuſtom is practiſed with regard to all ſorts of manufactures. At London there are ſale rooms for ſhirts, handkerchiefs, &c. The bookſellers make all their books be bound, which when there are many together, have a fine effect. By this means I can uſe my books the moment I buy them without depending on a capricious bookbinder. Certain merchants, called Stationers, ſell paper, pens, inkſtandiſhes, penknives, almanacks, and every thing uſed in writing. They have books of white paper of all ſhapes. Taylors keep every thing neceſſary for cloaths. Poulterers have their fowls in ſuch a ſtate that they are ready for the kitchin, and are

hung

hung in a very neat manner in their ſhops. Perſons going to India, neither have nor can have any idea of all the things neceſſary for them in ſo long voyage, and during their ſtay, in that country. Their wants are ſupplied here, in the moſt agreeable manner. In certain ſhops cheſts are to be had of all ſizes, and at different prices, containing every thing that ſuch a perſon can have occaſion for. You receive along with the cheſt an inventory of what it contains. The ſailors too are accomodated in the ſame way, with the neceſſaries proper for them. It is impoſſible to imagine how far inventions of this kind have been carried. The relations of a perſon newly dead, are ſpared the melancholy duty of laying him in the earth. An undertaker is ſent for, he is told the day, the hour and the place of the interment, and the ſum deſtined for the purpoſe. He takes care of every thing. His people come and examine thedead body, then dreſs itin woollen agreable to an antient law, made to give encouragement to theſe manufactures. A coffin is provided, the bearers and carriages arive, the bells toll, the body is buried, and the undertaker, after having defrayed all the expences, comes next day with his account, which according to cuſtom is not paid till Chriſtmas or the New-year.

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The love of convenience which is a real paſſion with the Engliſh, leads them to entruſt their money with a banker, and in this, advantage is blended with convenience. Not only merchants but individuals, and the nobility, ſometimes even the public offices of the ſtate depoſit their money in the hands of bankers, not to draw intereſt for it, but in order to have the command of it at all times, to avoid the trouble of making payment themſelves and to be ſecure againſt robberies and fire. As theſe two laſt caſes are frequent in London it is prudent to guard againſt them. The banker is not only anſwerable for all the capitals intruſted to him : but even ſuffers the loſs of payments made on forged drafts preſented to him in the name of the perſons concerned. The private banking houſes are ſhut in winter as well as ſummer at ſix o'clock in the evening, and after that hour no more payments are made, and all the ſums which the banker keeps during the day to anſwer demands are locked up in ſtrong boxes which are lodged in places ſecured from fire. The profits of the banker conſiſt in being able to employ the money he is intruſted with in trade. For tho' a perſon may go to him at any hour of the day to aſk money, yet there are many bankers who having the capitals of three, four, and

even

even five hundred perſons in their hands, have always enough to ſerve the purpoſes of ſpeculation. Of this kind, is the diſcounting of bills, whether foreign or home bills, payable at a certain date, which muſt not exceed two months. In that ſpace of time, all bills of exchange may be diſcounted, and the diſcount is calculated from day to day at the rate of five per cent. hen a banker having engaged in too many adventures, finds an unexpected call upon him, he has recourſe to the bank of England, with which he has always more or leſs credit according to the ſtate of his affairs.

This excellent ſyſtem which, by a well deviſed concentration of circumſtances, every thing conſpires to promote, is well worthy of admiration; it gives encouragement to the national induſtry and favours enterprizes, which without this reſource would never have been thought of. This ſyſtem which uudoubtedly gives additional activity to trade, is not known in any other commercial city of Europe, not even in Amſterdam. The merchant of moderate fortune has in all places, without exception, numberleſs difficulties to encounter, and overcome, in thoſe adventures which require ready money. He is obliged to leavet heſe to richer men than he, for the want of an eaſy means of raiſing money in

a ſhort ſpace of time, without putting his credit in danger, often reduces him to diſagreeable extremities, and ſometimes even to bankruptcy.

The bankers of London who in 1784, amounted to the number of forty-eight, are, beſides money, obliged to take as caſh the bills of thoſe they deal with. As ſome of theſe are payable every day, the clerks who have the charge of them, are running about the whole morning. The proprietor of the bill never troubles himſelf; if it is paid, the banker gives him credit for it, if not he is inſtantly informed that he may take the neceſſary meaſures.

All the great merchants of London have caſh in the Bank of England, though they make uſe of other bankers in the courſe of buſineſs, ſo that they have money depoſited ſometimes in two, three, or even four houſes. The Bank of England is equally accomodating with the other banks. It makes payments, takes up, and diſcounts bills of exchange. The advantages it derives from theſe ſpeculations are immenſe, it would even be impracticable to calculate them, for beſides that it puts into circulation, by a ſimple operation, more than a half of the money of the whole city, it makes almoſt all its payments in paper. The convenience

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of this paper, which ſometimes circulates for years before it returns, ſupercedes the neceſſity of caſh, and whenever the bank bill is preſented, it rarely happens that more than a fourth part of its value is demanded in money. This invention is perhaps the moſt maſterly that ever was deviſed for the encouragement of trade. The bank is open every day except Sunday, from nine o'clock in the morning till four in the afternoon, and during that time payments and diſcounts are inceſſantly made.

It is only thoſe who are very wealthy that can erect a private bank, which requires for its ſupport a well eſtabliſhed credit. Generally three or four merchants or others aſſociate together, and make up among them the neceſſary fund which they often draw out again, when the ſums entruſted to them are ſufficient for their trade. The Duke of Marlborough had ſome years ago in the hands of Child the Banker, a fund of ten, fifteen, or twenty thouſand pounds. Drummond the banker has often in his hands ſeveral hundred thouſand pounds belonging to the government. It may be well imagined that the Admiralty, the Treaſury, and other boards that have the diſpoſal of the public money will be very cautious of their choice of bankers. Not only perfect honeſty and conſummate

prudence

prudence are required, but the banker muſt poſſeſs a conſiderable fortune as a ſecurity. No inſtance of a banker's having failed who was intruſted by the government is remembered, while others have been ruined who poſſeſſed immenſe wealth.

About eight years ago, Sir George Colebrooke furniſhed a very extraordinary as well as remarkable example of this. He was a member of parliament, the firſt banker in London, and many years Chairman of the Eaſt India Company. Who would imagine that indigence and neceſſity were to follow ſuch a ſtate of opulence and pomp? He kept the retinue of a prince, and every thing entitled him to do ſo; but the extreme diſorder with which his very extenſive trade was carried on led him often to engage in fooliſh ſpeculations. For inſtance the Chairman of the Eaſt India Company, often but little verſed in the affairs of that country, bought ſtock at critical times and ſold it again when matters were going well. Sir George having met with many loſſes in this way, his tottering condition was diſcovered, and cauſed a general alarm in the capital; the Bank of England came to his aſſiſtance, but in vain did it advance him large ſums. He became bankrupt, and his creditors took poſſeſſion of all his effects. The inconceivable negligence

gligence with which he had conducted, not only his own trade, but the affairs of the Eaſt India Company, became public, and as his great vanity and imperious manners had procured him many enemies, no body pitied his misfortune; and the Engliſh who are never wanting in generoſity to perſons in ſuch caſes, made of him a melancholy exception, and he was reduced with his wife, who had brought him in marriage immenſe riches, to a ſtate of poverty. The miſery of a man whoſe pride was unſuportable, became ſoon ſo great that he was conſtrained to apply to that very Eaſt India Company which had ſuffered ſo much by his negligence, and all the members of which were his enemies. He obtained by ſpecial favour, a penſion of two hundred pounds a year, with which he retired to France, and now lives with his family at the little town of Boulogne. In 1778 when the war began to break out between France and England, the French court who had ordered all the Engliſh to leave the kingdom, touched with the melancholy cataſtrophe of Colebrooke, made an honourable exception in favour of his unfortunate family.

The precautions that are taken at the Bank of England, and the order that reigns there, are truly admirable; and ac-

cordingly it very ſeldom ſuffers any conſiderable loſſes. Linguet ſays that it is a machine as wonderful as it is little known, and he is in the right. What other bank in Europe has been able to make its paper paſs for ready money? Its bank bills are an inexhauſtible reſource for the ſtate; a very ſmall proportion of them being ever paid in caſh. This connection between the government and the bank, is kept a ſecret; all that is known is that this laſt often makes great advances to the ſtate, which derives the greateſt advantages from its credit. Thus all miniſters without exception, however changeable they may be in their way of thinking, and however oppoſite in their ſyſtems, always make it a rule to preſerve the greateſt conſideration for the Bank; an advantage which no other ſubordinate body in the kingdom can boaſt of, however great and reſpectable it may be in other reſpects. I ſhall only give as evidence of this, the manner in which the government treats the city of London, and the Eaſt India Company.

It has been calculated that the total ſum of bank bills which are annually loſt either by ſhipwreck, or on land by fire and other accidents, is equivalent to the ſalaries of all the people employed in the ſervice of the bank. The fixed expences of the bank being

being thus defrayed, it enjoys without deduction, the immenſe profits of its commerce and money tranſactions. It is likewiſe connected with the moſt commercial houſes in London. In order to underſtand the arrangement, we muſt know that not only all the great merchants in London, but all the rich tradeſmen have for the convenience of their buſineſs, dealings with ſome banker, in whoſe hands they depoſit the money they have occaſion for in trade. A bank of this kind is generally formed by three or four partners, and ſometimes even more of the richeſt individuals of the country. The failure of ſuch a houſe has for this reaſon a very extenſive influence over England. The great bank therefore by this ſecond operation draws into its coffers a great part of the caſh that circulates in London. This depoſit, which may be diſpoſed of every moment, not only pays no intereſt, but the bank, like all the other banking houſes, undertakes to get payment of all the bills due to the perſons whoſe money they are entruſted with, when the term of payment arrives, and places the ſums ariſing from them to the credit of their accounts.

Theſe immenſe treaſures are guarded during the night by twelve perſons who are ſtationed in the court of the bank. Though

people have often attempted, and ſometimes with ſucceſs, to defraud it, yet there has been no example of an attempt to plunder it.

The project which the Duc de Choiſeul had contrived for its ruin, is hitherto the moſt remarkable event in the hiſtory of this noble inſtitution. That audacious project is but little known in Germany, having been attempted during the war in Sileſia, in which my countrymen were too much engaged in the great affairs that were acting before their eyes, to attend to matters that were going on in foreign countries. The ſcheme of the Duc de Choiſeul was worthy of a great miniſter. He hazarded nothing, and the ſucceſs of his project would have ſecured him real and immenſe advantages. The great point was to undermine the credit of England, and by that means prevent it from continuing the war. The ſoul of the ſtate, the bank, was to be attacked and annihilated. It is chiefly intereſted in the trade of the Spaniards, and Portugueſe, and through this channel attracts to itſelf moſt of the gold of America. It was eaſy therefore to know, and to ſeize the exact time when its coffers were more empty than uſual. Some millions of livres added to the zeal and activity of the French emiſſaries in London were ſufficient

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to raiſe and to ſpread the reports neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the affair. If it turned out as the Duc wiſhed, peace would be the conſequence; and the loſs of the money expended, was trifling in compariſon of the advantages that would accrue to France by its completion; if it failed, not a farthing would be loſt. In the meantime the plan of the French court was carried into execution; and it appeared for a few days that England was upon the brink of ruin, and loſt without reſource. Indeed it was only that public ſpirit, ſo noble and ſo univerſally diffuſed, which diverted the ſtorm by the moſt prudent arrangements, and if I may be allowed the expreſſion, to that event is owing the happy invention of a political *para-tonerre*, which will inſure the bank in future from all enterprizes of the ſame kind. The vaſt ſums which the French emiſſaries drew from the bank were carried away with induſtrious parade and the moſt alarming reports were propagated. The ſtratagem took effect; in a few hours the whole city was in motion; every one was hurrying to the Bank, volumes of paper were preſented, and gold received in exchange. Though the conſternation of the directors was great they concealed it with ſcrupulous care, and continued to pay in the hope of defeating theſe diſagreeable ſuſpicions. But it was in vain,

the alarm far from being quieted became every day more univerſal. People came poſt to London from the moſt diſtant parts of the country, to inundate the bank with oceans of paper. It was neceſſary therefore to gain time. Payments are generally made in gold, large ſums are weighed, and the ſmaller counted with aſtoniſhing celerity. The method of paying by weight was diſcontinued, and ſums were counted with greater deliberation, and the money was laid guinea by guinea on the table; the hours fixed by ſtatute for opening and ſhutting the bank were punctually obſerved. The uſual number of caſhiers were employed the whole time in counting money, and yet there were but few people accomodated every day; but as they conducted themſelves agreeably to the ſtatutes no body could complain. However this method only ſerved to make the certainty and magnitude of the danger to be the more ſuſpected: add to this, the bank began to collect all the caſh poſſible, and every body knew, that in order to bear up againſt the run that was made on it, people were employed day and night in the Tower to coin money. Matters continued in this ſituation for nine days, and Great Britain, that powerful iſland, ſaw approaching the intire annihilation of its political exiſtence. Neither the loſs of A-

merica,

merica, nor of Canada, nor that of their poſſeſſions in India would have been comparable to the fatal conſequences that would have followed a bankruptcy of the bank of England, the ſupport and intereſt of which are ſo intimately connected with thoſe of the government of the nation at large. This is not a Miſſiſippi bank founded on vain ſpeculations, but an inſtitution on which the proſperity of the nation, and the fortune of all the firſt families in England depend. This melancholy truth was at laſt the cauſe, that on the ninth day, one hundred and twenty of the principal merchants of London aſſembled; they ſigned a reſolution, and made it be publiſhed, that they engaged without heſitation to accept, during the ſpace of three months, for ready money all the bank bills that ſhould be preſented to them. From this moment the alarm ceaſed, the tumult was appeaſed, the bank was no longer beſieged, it had leiſure to take the proper meaſures, and every thing returned to its ordinary courſe. This terrible enterprize therefore ſerved but to ſhew the Engliſh nation the means of counteracting in future, the pernicious effects of a ſimilar attempt.

The caſhiers of the bank every day receive vaſt ſums in gold which are weighed and given out again in the ſame manner.

few years ago, the guineas were counted, but it was discovered that a certain clerk had carried every day home with him a great number, having found the art, by means of a very ingenious machine, of filing the guineas without taking off the milling, or of defacing them in the least degree. This knavery might have remained a secret to this day, but his mistress betrayed him; he was executed, and since that time the cashiers receive all gold by weight.

The smallest bank bills are for ten pounds, but they may be granted to any extent. A single bill may be taken for immense sums. I know, that upon the arrival of a certain number of vessels richly laden, the East India Company, to whom they belonged, had to pay at the customhouse of London, the sum of L.160,000; and as they have an account with the bank, the affair was concluded in an instant by means of a single bank bill. The payment of these bills cannot be delayed; the laws require that they should be paid to the bearer instantly on demand, accordingly all the threatnings used when they are lost, are only meant to terrify the ignorant, and to force those who have them to restitution. About twelve years ago the bank for once departed from this law, but nearly smarted for it. The principal clerk of a rich banker

ker robbed his maſter of bank bills to the amount of twenty thouſand pounds; but not daring to preſent them himſelf at the bank, he trafficked with a Jew who underſtood the affair, and therefore took them at an immenſe diſcount. The clerk departed with the money to Holland. In the mean time, the robbery was advertiſed in all the newſpapers with the number of the bills, requeſting that when preſented they might not be accepted. At the end of ſix months the Jew appeared at the bank with his notes, and demanded payment. The bank, out of conſideration for the merchant that had loſt them, refuſed, meaning firſt to inform him of their being preſented. The Jew inſiſted upon immediate payment, and upon the bank's perſiſting in its refuſal, he went to the Exchange where all the merchants aſſemble, and related publicly that the bank having refuſed to honour their own bills for twenty thouſand pounds, its affairs muſt certainly be in diſorder. It was known that this Jew poſſeſſed immenſe wealth; he had the bills in his hands which he ſaid had been remitted to him from Holland, he was juſt about to advertiſe this refuſal of the bank and the ſuſpicions it ſuggeſted; when the directors of the bank, informed of this proceeding, ſent a perſon to beg that he would come and receive his money. Such was the iſſue of

this

affair which might have had the moſt ſerious conſequences. In any other country the Jew would have been tried as a calumniator; but in England the bank, the ſoul of the ſtate, would have loſt the cauſe. The law could not prevent the holder of the notes from interpreting the refuſal that was made of payment according to his fancy; nothing could hinder him from ſaying aloud that the excuſe in his opinion was only a pretext to gain time becauſe they wanted caſh. It is true that intelligent people would not give credit to the tale, but the majority would have been ſtaggered. In ſhort the Jew was acquainted with the nation, and its laws, and he gained his point.

Inſtructed by experience, the bank has adopted certain rules from which it has reſolved never to depart. A very extraordinary affair happened to it about forty years ago. One of the directors, a very rich man, had occaſion for L. 30,000 which he was to pay as the price of an eſtate he had juſt bought; to facilitate the matter, he carried the ſum with him to the bank and took for it a ſingle bank note. It is to be obſerved that any conſiderable bill may be divided into bills of leſs value. At his return home, he was ſuddenly called out upon particular buſineſs; he threw the note careleſsly

leſsly on the chimney, but when he came back a few minutes afterwards to lock it up, it was not be found. Nobody had entred the room; he could not therefore ſuſpect any perſon. At laſt after much ineffectual ſearch he was perſuaded that it had fallen from the chimney into the fire. The director went to acquaint his colleagues with the misfortune that had happened to him, and as he was known to be a perfectly honeſt man he was readily believed. It was only about four and twenty hours from the time, that he had depoſited his money in the bank; they thought therefore that it would be hard to refuſe his demand for a ſecond bill. He received it upon giving an obligation in writing to reſtore the firſt bill if it ſhould ever be found, or to pay the money himſelf if it ſhould be preſented by any ſtranger. About thirty years afterwards, that is to ſay, about ten or twelve years ago, (the director having been long dead, and his heirs in poſſeſſion of his fortune,) an unknown perſon preſented the loſt bill at the bank, and demanded payment. It was in vain that they ſhewed this perſon the tranſaction by which that bill was annulled; he would not liſten to it; he maintained that the bill had come to him from abroad, and inſiſted upon immediate payment. The bill was payable to the bearer, and accordingly the thirty thouſand

pounds

pounds were paid him. The heirs of the director would not hearken to any demands of reſtitution and the bank was obliged to ſuſtain the loſs. It was diſcovered afterwards that an architect having purchaſed the director's houſe, and taking it down in order to build another on the ſame ſpot, had found the note in a crevice of the chimney.

The great value of theſe little papers, makes the conveyance of them exceedingly hazardous. Even the poſt does not ſecure them. The only means that can be fallen on to prevent their loſs by robbery, is to cut them in two, and to ſend each half at different times. The robber can reap no advantage from one half, and he runs a great riſk in vain. Accordingly accidents of this ſort are rare. It is not only allowable to join the two torn pieces, but as the extreme thinneſs of the paper makes it be liable to be torn, the poſſeſſor can paſte it together in any way. I have known ſome country people keep one of them thus patched as a real treaſure always ready for their ſervice.

Of this kind, there happened a very curious event ſome years ago. A farmer in Hertfordſhire came to the bank, and deſired the clerks to give eight hundred pounds on

bank note for ten thouſand pounds which he produced, promiſing to repay the money in eight days. The clerk anſwered that this was not cuſtomary, that it was even ridiculous to think of borrowing money on money: that his note would be paid in caſh if he choſe it, or he might take part of it in caſh and have notes for the reſt. The farmer would not be convinced, he ſaid his note was a good one, and that it was eaſy to advance him on it eight hundred pounds. At laſt he begged they would allow him to ſpeak with one of the directors, who beſides the governor and deputy governor are twenty four in number, one of whom at leaſt is always preſent. The farmer repeated his requeſt to the reſpectable director Payne, who gave him the ſame anſwer that the clerk had done. All this did not ſatisfy him. What would have been done with ſuch an obſtinate fellow, and eſpecially with a peaſant, in France or in Germany? They would have ſhut the door in his face, and if he even got away without being caned, he might thank his fortunate ſtars. But Payne behaved otherwiſe, he deſired the farmer to keep his note, and advanced him the ſum he wanted, out of his own money. It is indeed uncommon enough to lend ſo conſiderable a ſum to a ſtranger, without ſecurity or advantage; but Payne reaſoned right; it is not poſſible thought he

the proprietor of ſuch a note, eſpecially a plain countryman, can have any intention of cheating me. In fact the man returned in eight days bringing with him the money which as he had expected was paid to him in London without his being obliged to change his note. Payne then aſked him why he was ſo much attached to that particular note, "Becauſe I have the fellow of it at home," ſaid the farmer.

Though it is exceedingly difficult to counterfeit the notes of the bank eſpecially on account of the manner in which the paper is made, the water mark being diſtinctly imprinted on it, yet the allurements of riches have ſometimes prevailed with people to hazard the attempt. In 1776 a great number were circulated moſt excellently imitated. Had it not been for a ſlight negligence it would have been impoſſible to miſtake them from the true notes. In the water mark the words, *Bank of England* had an *e* too much,. *Engleand.* The forgery was therefore diſcovered after notes to the amount of L. 36,000 had been put in circulation. The bank came to the wiſe reſolution of taking them all, that the circulation of the reſt might not ſuffer. Every art was employed to diſcover the forger; he was accordingly apprehended and thrown into priſon. This event gave riſe

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to one of thoſe tranſactions that diſgrace human nature, a ſcene of ſo diabolical a kind that it will appear to be a fragment extracted from the Chronicles of Hell.

Morton the forger, a young man of good family, was languiſhing in priſon under the frightful apprehenſion of a criminal trial. It was neceſſary for the bank to aſcend by this proſecution to the ſource of the evil, and to make the proper arrangements in conſequence of it. A falſe friend of Morton's founded on this circumſtance his infernal deſign. He went to the priſon, expreſſed his great ſorrow for the unfortunate ſituation of the young man, and aſſured him that he was ready to undertake any thing that could ſave him from an infamous death. Such a friend is always welcome. Morton, who had already laid his account with certain death, thought he ſaw an angel of light before his eyes, and put his deſtiny in the hands of a traitor, who contrived, by means of money and art, to reſcue the unhappy Morton from his priſon. Every thing being prepared for flight, to his inexpreſſible joy he ſoon found himſelf at liberty on the coaſts of France. He changed his name, took the road of Flanders and arrived at Bruges where he ſtopped. The falſe friend Deeds, in the mean time, ſteadily purſued his plan. He

offered the governors of the bank, whom the eſcape of Morton had thrown into great embaraſſment, to deliver him up for a reward of five thouſand pounds. This ſum appeared too large, and it was thought that a man who would be a traitor for five thouſand pounds would find it no great difficulty to be the ſame for one thouſand. Deeds finding that he could not obtain more, at laſt conſented. In the mean time the paſſion of the Engliſh for their native country, which I have mentioned before, began to act with ſuch violence on the heart of young Morton that the object of all his wiſhes was to be able to return with ſafety to England. Four months had already paſſed, he was ſtill at Bruges, and carried on an uninterrupted correſpondence with Deeds, who ſent him from time to time ſome little ſupply of money, when he received the joyful news that he might return, that his friends had compromiſed matters with the bank, who were willing to drop the proſecution which would have diſagreeable conſequences to themſelves as well as to him. What neither the ſignature of all the directors together, nor even that of the monarch could effect, a ſingle letter of this traitor operated in the mind of Morton. Full of blind reliance on his deliverer and benefactor who enjoined him

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to return immediately, he arrived in London, was arreſted the ſame day, the trial proceeded, Deeds got the reward, and Morton was hanged.

CHAP. VIII.

CHAP. VIII.

ENGLISH liberty would be what it ſeems in the eyes of many ill informed people, if the laws did not act with equal force on the rich, as on the poor. Their violation, when the lives and property of a ſubject is at ſtake, is puniſhed without regard to the rank or condition of the criminal. and though the king is not reſtrained in the exerciſe of that mercy which the Conſtitution authoriſes him to grant; yet he never extends it to thoſe powerful criminals who hope to find in their titles or dignities, ſecurity againſt the puniſhment which the laws award againſt their miſdeeds. It is however certain that every means would be employed, and every engine ſet at work to faſcinate the pity of the monarch, in order to make him pardon culprits of rank, if the trials were not carried on in the eyes of the whole nation; a cuſtom which neither the king nor the whole legiſlative body together can abrogate, except by unhinging the Conſtitution. I ſhall exemplify this practice from inſtances that have happened in our own age. This method, which I ſhall make uſe of as often as poſſible in the courſe of this

work

work, is undoubtedly more agreeable and more inſtructive than long and fatigueing diſquiſitions; it may beſides enable the reader to ſupply any deficiencies, and to form his own judgement on facts of which I will warrant the authenticity.

Every body knows, that during the rebellion in Scotland, many noblemen were executed for high treaſon; but there was no inſtance, for more than a century, of any peer being executed for any other crime. The Earl Ferrers, brother of the preſent nobleman of that name, furniſhed one inſtance about five and twenty years ago. He murdered his Steward, not in a fit of paſſion, but in a determined and premeditated manner. The reaſons that had induced him to this deſperate act with other circumſtances, prove, that if he was not a madman, his mind was none of the greateſt. He ſhot this poor man in his own chamber at his ſeat in the country. The Earl was immediately ſtruck with remorſe, and ſent for a ſurgeon, who, finding the wound mortal, gave information to the next Juſtice. He was apprehended and ſent to London, and committed to the Tower, where he remained till he was brought to trial. As every citizen has by law a right to be tried by his equals, and as the peers of England form a diſtinct body, the whole

Houſe

Houſe of Lords are the judges in caſes of this kind. They are ſummoned, not in quality of legiſlators, but as members of a court who are to ſit in judgement openly, and therefore they do not meet in the Houſe of Lords but in Weſtminſter Hall, a place convenient by its proximity and capaciouſneſs.

It was this reſpectable tribunal which tried Earl Ferrers, and condemned him unanimouſly to death, notwithſtanding that ſeveral of the judges were his friends and near relations. The laws require that the body of a murderer ſhall be given to ſurgeons for diſſection, and this part of his ſentence was what touched him the moſt ſenſibly. He heard the verdict of death pronounced with indifference, but when mention was made of the diſſection, he cried out "*God forbid;*" neither his rank however nor his wealth could preſerve him from undergoing the full puniſhment of the law. It was in vain that he requeſted to die by the axe, inſtead of the halter; he intreated to be executed in the Tower, but he was told that he muſt ſuffer at Tyburn, the common place of execution. The only indulgence that was granted him was permiſſion to be carried thither in a coach inſtead of a cart. The ſame favour was afterwards ſhown to other criminals of diſtinction, ſuch as Dodd and ſome others. Lord Ferrers accordingly went to Tyburn, in a mourning

mourning coach, the horſes were covered with crape, and his domeſtics in deep mourning. He mounted the ſcaffold which had been erected for him, and was obliged to continue on it for ſome time with the rope about his neck. The Sheriff who attended him, having taken his leave, a ſpring was touched, and the ſcaffold ſinking, left the body ſuſpended from the gibbet. It was afterwards carried to the anatomical theatre, where it was not diſſected, but expoſed naked for three days to the view of the people, that the ſentence in all its requiſites might be complied with. The executioner ſhewed for a ſhilling the rope that had been made uſe of; and ſuch is always the folly of the populace that thouſands of perſons went to ſee it. The corpſe was afterwards interred in the family vault, and the brother of the deceaſed took the title of Ferrers. The wives of peers enjoy the ſame privileges as the peers themſelves, and the remembrance of this made a great princeſs, (the Queen of Denmark) when thrown into priſon, exclaim; "Oh! why am I not "in my dear native country, where my "trial would be public, and the nobleſt of "the land my judges!

In 1776, the Dutcheſs of Kingſton was accuſed of Bigamy. When the news reached her, for ſhe was then at Rome, ſhe inſtantly

ſtantly ſet off for England, though ſhe was in bad health, and obliged to be carried the whole way in a litter. A ſhort time after her arrival the trial commenced. I had the pleaſure of being a witneſs of this ſingular ſpectacle which very much reſembled the pomp of ſacred worſhip in catholic countries. Foreigners were ſurprized and even laughed, to ſee England, while engaged in an unfortunate war, treating with ſo much importance, an affair that was to end as every body knew, in a mere ceremony; but without wounding the Conſtitution they could not refuſe to her accuſer, nor could they deny her the privilege of having the cauſe tried before the only court, in which her rank obliged her to appear. As the proceedings were public, the cuſtomary ceremonies drew a prodigious concourſe of people. The preſident of the court is appointed by the king for the occaſion and bears the title of Lord High Steward of the kingdom, an eminent dignity, but which ceaſes with the trial. The Chancellor was appointed to this office in the caſe of the Dutcheſs of Kingſton. He preſided in this aſſembly, which on many accounts may be conſidered as one of the moſt reſpectable in the nation, holding in his hand a long and ſlender rod, as the diſtinctive mark of his dignity. Let any one figure to himſelf the ample extent of Weſtminſter Hall,

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the height of which equals that of the higheſt churches, affording ſufficient ſpace for the benches neceſſary to be erected there. The boxes and other places contrived for the ladies, the royal family, the foreign miniſters, the Houſe of Commons &c. were covered with fine cloth. All were in high dreſs; the paſſages were guarded with ſoldiers, who in general do not appear at theſe national ſpectacles; the peers, almoſt two hundred in number, the biſhops and firſt magiſtrates of the kingdom in their robes ſeated in a ſemicircular form, in the body of the hall, making a grand and reſpectable group; while the High Steward ſat at the foot of a throne erected for the King, who however does not appear. At a little diſtance from it, was placed a large table for the clerk of that ſupreme tribunal. The centre of the circle was reſerved for the defendant, her counſel and accuſers. The Dutcheſs had beſide her two female attendants, a phyſician, a ſurgeon, an apothecary, a ſecretary and ſix lawyers. Her behaviour noble and compoſed during the whole trial, intereſted every one in her behalf, though the laws were againſt her. She was however found guilty, after all the peers had ſeverally given their votes, riſing one after another, and with their hand upon their breaſt pronouncing, *Guilty u, on my honour*. The youngeſt peer begins the ce-

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mony, which is continued till it comes to the Grand Steward. The punishment awarded by the law for bigamy, is a red hot iron applied to the hand; but the nobility are exempted by antient usage from this application. The lawyers for the Dutchess claimed the privilege; the adverse party opposed it, and it was then only that this unfortunate woman lost the courage that had hitherto supported her, she swooned away and was carried out. she was however allowed the privilege, and escaped with a reprimand from the High Steward.

Such was the issue of this singular trial which took up six sittings, and gave occasion to events, the relation and application of which would furnish an inexhaustible source of observation, but which would not be proper in a work of this kind. These six days were holidays for London. The peers met at ten o'clock, but the hall was filled with spectators at five o'clock in the morning. Ladies came there, even at three o'clock, by the very dawn of day, magnificently dressed, and remained till five o'clock afternoon, that the court broke up. As the trial happened in summer, a time when every body was in the country, equipages were seen pouring in from the most distant corners of the kingdom. Persons offered by public advertisement, twelve, fifteen

teen and even twenty guineas, for a ticket of admiſſion, and a certain lady is ſaid to to have declared in a company, that ſhe would rather give fifty guineas than want the gratification of being preſent. The Dutcheſs, upon being told of this lady's curioſity anſwered, "If ſhe ſo ardently deſires to occupy a place in the hall, I am ready to yield her mine for nothing, where ſhe will not fail of ſeeing, and being ſeen by all the world."

It was likewiſe during my reſidence in London that Sayer the banker was accuſed of high treaſon. This Sayer is a native of America, and is known in the north of Germany, by the journeys he made thither in favour of his countrymen. He is at preſent ſettled at George-town in Maryland. At London he lived eſteemed and reſpected, till about the commencement of the American war, when he had the audacity to undertake the execution of a raſh and inconſiderate plot. As almoſt the whole nation was averſe to that unlucky war, he reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the perſon of the king, and have him confined in the Tower, till he ſhould yield to the terms that were to be preſcribed to him. He communicated a part of this plan to his friend, Richardſon, a captain of the guards, and begged his aſſiſtance. This officer pro-

miſed to conſider of it, and immediately went to the earl of Rochford Secretary of State, to whom he related the ſingular propoſition that had juſt been communicated to him, and made oath to the truth of his information. As this was an affair of high treaſon, the miniſter thought it his duty to act with expedition; he therefore iſſued an order to have Sayer taken into cuſtody, and brought to his houſe. He was accordingly ſeized, and had juſt time before he was carried to the Secretary of State's office to inform his lawyer that he was arreſted.

In the mean time Lord Rochford had ſent for Juſtice Fielding. Richardſon too was preſent, but the cunning Sayer denied every thing, truſting to the arrival of his attorney. He was in the right, for this perſon no ſooner received intelligence of what was going on, than he got into his carriage, and made ſuch haſte, that he was there a few minutes after his client. Upon entering, he deſired to ſpeak with Sayer, which being told to his Lordſhip, he was for putting him off till the end of the examination. This incenſed the attorney, and the ſervant was ſent back to inform his Lordſhip, that the attorney inſiſted on ſpeaking that very inſtant with Sayer. How would this firmneſs in ſuch a man have been treated in any other country? Of ſuch a conduct

duct towards a miniſter, armed with authority, in his own houſe, and engaged in a buſineſs of high treaſon, the moſt gentle puniſhment would have been to throw the fellow out of the window. In England, where none are above the laws, where the firſt noblemen of the kingdom dare not infringe them, the caſe is quite otherwiſe. The Attorney was admitted, and he publicly informed Sayer that he was not obliged to make any anſwer to queſtions put to him in the place where he was. Sayer then turning to Lord Rochford, ſaid, that he meant to follow the advice of his lawyer, and begged him not to queſtion him further as it would be to no purpoſe. On this the miniſter iſſued an order for committing him to the Tower. The attorney offered bail, adding that if he thought he had ſufficient reaſons he might refuſe it, but that he ſhould be anſwerable for the conſequences. Rochford thought on ſuch an occaſion he was obliged to refuſe the bail, and Sayer was committed to the Tower. In ſix days however he was diſcharged, reaſons of ſtate not making it adviſeable to inſtitute a proceſs of ſuch importance. Sayer had no inclination to paſs over in ſilence, the conduct of the miniſter; he proſecuted him for wrongous impriſonment, and having proved that illegal meaſures had been

taken againſt him, the Earl was adjudged to pay him a fine of three thouſand pounds.

The power of the laws, and Engliſh liberty, never appeared in a more reſpectable light, than in the proceſs betweeen the Comte de Guerchy, and the Chevalier d'Eon. As the particulars of that event have never reached Germany, and as the Chevalier d'Eon, whom I knew intimately, is no ſtranger there, I think it will not be uſeleſs to delineate here, ſome characteriſtical features of that ſingular being.

D'Eon had already diſplayed with much luſtre his political talents at Warſaw, and at Peterſburg, when he was, in 1763, ſent to London in quality of ſecretary to the embaſſy under the Comte de Guerchy. A ſhort while after his arrival, the Comte went to paſs a few months in Paris, and left the charge of his affairs to d'Eon who was inveſted with the title of miniſter plenipotentiary from the Court of France to that of London. His operations in this capacity gave great offence to the jealous Comte, who on his return did not fail to let him know how much he was diſpleaſed. This ſcene occaſioned a compleat rupture between them; and both made mutual complaints to their court. The Count had friends at Verſailles, more powerful it would

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than thoſe of the Chevalier, or perhaps this latter was to blame; but however this may be, it is certain that d'Eon loſt his cauſe. Believing now that he was under no obligation to keep any meaſures with the French court he concluded with throwing off all connection with it. His reſentment went ſo far, as to reveal thoſe ſecrets of ſtate that had been confided to his honour. He talked loudly of the peace having been ſold, he named the traitors, and the ſums they had received. Aſſertions of this kind could not but make a great noiſe. It was not thought adviſeable to proſecute him for ſuch a diſcourſe; the people intereſted contented themſelves with denominating him an infamous calumniator. D'Eon in order to refute theſe imputations on his character, offered to produce irrefragable proofs of what he advanced, eſpecially with regard to the money that had been remitted from France. This determined conduct ſtopt the mouths of the perſons concerned in this intricate affair, and d'Eon was induced to ſilence, by means no doubt the moſt advantageous to the diſagreeable circumſtances in which he was at that time placed. We ſhall only ſay, that he continued to live ſeveral years in England in peace and at his eaſe.

His ſituation however was by no means to be envied. The Court of St James's and its adherents deteſted him as a traitor whom motives of intereſt alone prevented from carrying his perfidy to the utmoſt pitch. The body of the people deſpiſed him for having been bribed to deſiſt from the proſecution of his plan. It was ſaid that he ought to have told all or nothing. The juſt reſentment of the French Court from which he had every thing to apprehend added to his diſquiet. He was for ever on his guard, ſhewed himſelf but ſeldom near the ſhores, and went abroad in the mornings without being attended. By this prudent conduct he rendered abortive many pretty well laid ſchemes that had been formed for entrapping him.

I will not affirm that an attempt was made to poiſon him; but it is certain that he complained loudly of the Comte de Guerchy, who, he ſaid, had endeavoured to have him poiſoned in his own houſe. He even went to a Juſtice of Peace to make affidavit of this fact, and to eſtabliſh it by proofs. This proceeding was to be the foundation of a criminal action, and unhappily the Count, in the capacity of ambaſſador from a powerful monarch, conceived himſelf infinitely beyond the reach of ſuch a proſecution. When his friends expreſſed

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their concern at the affair, he even made light of it, ſuppoſing that his character, and the favour he enjoyed at Court, would be ſufficient to ſecure him. He was however, agreeably to the practice of the law, ſummoned to appear perſonally before the Court. This proceeding which he took as an affront, incenſed him, and he went immediately to complain to the miniſter, whoſe aſtoniſhment and concern did not at all tend to relieve the poor Count, who, meaſuring the power of a King of England, by that of his own monarch, could not comprehend it, and ſuppoſed at firſt that the Secretary of State choſe to divert himſelf a little at his expence. The time for his appearance was ſhort, and all that could be done for him, was to have it enlarged. At laſt the Count de Guerchy, miniſter plenipotentiary of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, having thus gained a little time, ſecretly quitted London during the night; and landed happily at Calais. The chagrin which this diſagreeable cataſtrophe occaſioned, threw him into a diſeaſe of which he died in a ſhort time after.

The Chevalier d'Eon remained in London till the year 1777, when the doubts with regard to his ſex, gave occaſion to many extraordinary wagers. Nettled at theſe doubts, the Chevalier advertiſed in the Newſpapers

that

he was willing to put an end to them on a certain day, which he named. He likewiſe fixed the hour, and the place in which he intended to give the neceſſary ſatisfaction. The place appointed was a coffee houſe in the city at the hour of 'change, that the greater number of curious people might be aſſembled, before whom this ſingular ſcene was to be exhibited. The concourſe was prodigious. D'Eon appeared in the French uniform of a captain of horſe, decorated with the order of St Louis. He addreſſed the aſſembly; he ſaid he came to prove that he belonged to that ſex whoſe habit he wore, and was ready to do ſo againſt any one either with ſword or cudgel. The boldneſs of this compliment pleaſed the crowd; ſome praiſed him, others laughed; but the greater part of the ſpectators received this defiance of the Chevalier rather coldly, and he, ſeeing no one about to appear, returned home in triumph. It is certain however that in order to determine thoſe wagers which, it is ſaid, amounted nearly to a million Sterling, extraordinary ſums were offered to him if he would give indubitable evidence of his ſex. I know for certain, that there were ſums offered to him, amounting to thirty thouſand pounds, which would have been paid him down. Theſe offers were very tempting, and I am convinced that the Chevalier would have

communicated

communicated his ſecret for much leſs, had it not been required of him to ſuffer the inſpection of a great number of perſons of diſtinction, and therefore he poſitively refuſed to comply. Had the examination been made, and the truth confirmed by an affidavit of the inſpectors, all the bets would have been determined. The total uncertainty remained till his departure for France; when two Frenchmen of a bad character ſwore, that d'Eon was a woman which determined ſome of the wagers. But thoſe whoſe bets had been conſiderable would not allow the teſtimony of theſe two adventurers to be ſufficient, although one of them, pretending to be a ſurgeon, affirmed that he had cured the Chevalier of a certain diſeaſe; in ſhort moſt people are ſtill at a loſs what ſex to attribute to this ſingular being.

The tragical end of the unfortunate Dr Dodd, who fell a ſacrifice to the laws of his country likewiſe deſerves a place in this work. I was myſelf a witneſs of two of the moſt affecting ſcenes to which this event gave occaſion; I mean of the firſt day of the trial, and of the laſt when he received ſentence of death. The judges, the Jury and ſpectators were all affected; Dodd wept. "I deſpiſe, ſaid he, all affectation "of philoſophy on the brink of the grave; "it is a Pagan virtue of which God forbid

that

" that I ſhould boaſt. I love life and I am " not ready to die." This unfortunate man always flattered himſelf that the king would pardon him; his numerous friends intereſted themſelves in his behalf, with as much zeal as if the ſalvation of the ſtate, had depended on his life. His Jury and Judges recommended him to the mercy of his Sovereign; whole corporations, the city of London itſelf preſented a petition in his favour; the newſpapers were daily filled with accounts of the benevolent actions of his life; they cited the moſt intereſting paſſages of his ſermons; his letters were collected and publiſhed, and the poets celebrated his virtues; in a word every means was employed to rouſe the general compaſſion in favour of this reſpectable criminal: and the general compaſſion was excited. His partiſans drew up a petition to the King, and never had ſuch a one been ſeen in England. It was ſigned by twenty three thouſand houſe holders; it was carried from door to door with a view to receive ſubſcriptions, and coffee houſes were appointed for the ſame purpoſe. The petition was carried by a porter who bowed under the weight of it, for this ſingular inſtrument formed a maſs of parchment nine and twenty Engliſh yards long, the twenty three thouſand names following one another and occupying the whole length. It is to be

remarked

remarked that the great merchants and other perſons of diſtinction did not ſign this petition, which was of no avail, the King's counſel having determined that it was not adviſeable to pardon the criminal.

Dodd likewiſe attempted to conciliate the favour of Lord Mansfield by writing to him a moſt affecting letter. As it was never printed, I ſhall inſert it here.

'MY LORD,

'In a few days, the fate of the moſt 'unfortunate of created beings will be 'decided for ever. I know my Lord what 'reſpect is paid to your opinion. It un-'doubtedly will determine whether I ſhall 'die an ignominious death, or drag out the 'remains of life in a diſgraceful exile. O 'my Lord, do not refuſe to hear what I 'venture in my humbled ſtate to oppoſe to 'the ſeverity of the laws!

'I feel, my Lord, the guilt of my crime, 'the ſentence which condemns me is but 'too juſt: but I dare flatter myſelf, that in 'imputing to me the ill, the good I have 'done will alſo be remembered; and how 'uſeful my charitable labours have been 'to that ſociety which in this inſtance only, 'I have injured. I am guilty, I am repen-

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'tant. I aſk only the preſervation of my 'life, a life which I muſt drag out in in-'famy, perhaps in poverty.'

This letter did not prevent Lord Mansfield from giving his opinion againſt extending the royal mercy to Dodd. The reaſons he gave for his opinion were convincing; and the ſame reaſons prevented the King from granting in the year 1783 a pardon to the celebrated engraver Ryland whom he loved and patroniſed.

The friends of Dodd ſeing that all their ſolicitations were in vain, formed the deſign of having him reſtored to life after his execution. The delinquent was probably informed of their deſign, for he prayed the executioner, while under the gibbet, to prevent his being pulled by the feet, which the ſpectators often do out of compaſſion. After the execution his friends got poſſeſſion of the body, which is permitted by the laws, when the criminal is not a murderer. A mourning coach and a coffin were ready to receive it; when it was put in, the carriage ſet off full ſpeed for the houſe of one of his friends, where a phyſician exerted all the powers of his art to reſtore him to life but without ſucceſs.

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As I mean, by relating all theſe events, to give by facts of undoubted authenticity, a juſt idea of the preſent ſtate of the laws in England, and of their execution, I ſhall cite one inſtance more which happened at London in 1778, and of which, to my great aſtoniſhment, I was alſo witneſs.

A young man, about twenty years of age, was condemned to death on the evidence of a highwayman, who accuſed him of having aſſiſted at a robbery. His bad character, and the teſtimony of the highwayman in the court, accompanied with other neceſſary proofs, convinced the jury that he was guilty. The unhappy young man was conſequently with other criminals drawn on a cart to Tyburn. With the cord about his neck, he remained for an hour, according to the permiſſion of the laws, under the gibbet. During this hour, it is permitted to the criminal to addreſs the people, and to ſay what he pleaſes ; even though he ſhould utter treaſon againſt the throne, or inſtigate the people to rebellion, no one has a right to ſtop his mouth. It was thought that humanity dictated this compaſſionate lenity to a being about to be ſent to another world by a violent death. There are indeed many who find in this awful moment a certain pleaſure in propagating the ſentiments which they have cheriſhed. Lord Lovat,

who after the Scotch rebellion, died on the ſcaffold, took advantage of this privilege. He declared that George II. had no right to the throne, that it belonged to James III. and concluded by affirming that it was with pleaſure he had an opportunity of ſhedding his blood for his lawful king.

The young man I am talking of, made no ſpeech, but waited in trembling anxiety, for the laſt moment of his life. It was already arrived, and all the neceſſary preparatives finiſhed, when his accuſer, turning to the Ordinary of Newgate who was called Villette, and who by his office is obliged to accompany criminals to Tyburn, he ſolemnly declared to him that the poor young man was innocent, and that a ſpirit of revenge alone had led him to give falſe evidence in order to take away his life. This declaration ſhocked all the ſpectators: but Villette, accuſtomed to thoſe ſort of ſcenes, anſwered coldly that it was not now time to retract. The people however began to murmur, and ſome perſons of diſtinction addreſſed themſelves to the under Sheriff, who in the abſence of the Sheriff filled his place. This perſon, who had not heard the declaration made by the highwayman, had already given the fatal ſignal; already the whip was lifted to laſh away the horſes from under the gibbet; already the cries

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of the unhappy men, reſounded in the ears of the byſtanders, whoſe hearts they filled with horror, when ſuddenly there was a loud cry of 'halt.' It was repreſented to the under Sheriff how barbarous it would be to make an innocent perſon ſuffer. The emotion of this good man was as great as his embarraſſment, for the caſe was new. All were agreed that the young man ought not to be executed with the other criminals; the cruel Villette alone maintained that nothing could ſave him, for the laws do not give to the Sheriff, the power of ſuſpending the time of execution even for a quarter of an hour. The under Sheriff knew the law, and the repreſentations of Villette but too well reminded him of his melancholy duty. He was juſt about to order the execution to proceed, when the chief of the conſtables addreſſed him in the following words, "In the name of God, Sir, ſaid he, is it poſſible that you will give your conſent to the death of an innocent perſon." 'What can I do, what ought I to do?' anſwered the other. "If you will delay the execution, ſaid the conſtable, I will this inſtant mount my horſe and endeavour to find the king." He in fact departed without liſtening to the cruel pleaſantries of Villette, who ſaid that the iſſue of this embaſſy would be as fruitleſs as it was ridiculous.

Four other perſons had joined themſelves to this benevolent embaſſy, who rode towards the town at full ſpeed. Tyburn is diſtant from London about two Engliſh miles. Upon arriving at the palace they learned that the king was at Richmond, and all the miniſters in the country, as it was in the middle of ſummer. They went immediately to the office of the Secretaries of State, hoping to meet there with ſome perſons of conſideration, whoſe advice might be uſeful in ſuch an emergency, but all the people they met ſhrugged up their ſhoulders, and ſaid that the under Sheriff ought to know well what latitude the laws allowed to the power he was entruſted with. After an abſence of an hour and a half, the ambaſſador returned with this anſwer, which was good for nothing in ſuch a critical moment. The execution of the other criminals had been all the time ſuſpended. Another council was then held to the great diſpleaſure of Villette, who inſiſted that the under Sheriff ſhould give the ſignal and threatned him with a criminal proſecution, telling him at the ſame time that the jailor of Newgate would never take back a criminal whom he had already given over to the executioner. But the worthy chief conſtable made light of this laſt argument, and continued to addreſs the under Sheriff with the moſt manly eloquence till he had

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given the orders the conſtable wiſhed for. The other eight criminals were executed, and the young man, whom ſuch a joyful deliverance had thrown into a ſwoon, was conducted back to Newgate. The King, informed of theſe tranſactions, granted a pardon to the young man, who a few hours before had ſtood under the gibbet with a rope about his neck, and now went to reſt happy and free. The King alſo pardoned the under Sheriff who had aſſumed a power he was not inveſted with by right, and the approbation of the whole kingdom was the reward of his firmneſs. The following verſe of Shakeſpear was applied to him,

" In doing a great right, he did a little wrong."

There are not in England men who are properly ſtiled executioners. The hangman is a perſon hired by the Sheriff to execute criminals; he may follow any profeſſion at the ſame time; for infamy is not annexed to this occupation. It is deſpicable to be ſure, but not diſhonourable, and the contempt is not attached to the function but proceeds from the idea that the perſon performing it, is actuated by a vile thirſt of gain; for if nobody could be found to undertake the office, the Sheriff would be obliged to put the ſentence of the law in exe-

cution with his own hands. A few years ago an example of this occurred, not in London, but in the country. The two people hired for the purpoſe died ſuddenly, at the moment when their ſervices were required. Nobody could be prevailed upon to undertake the taſk, and as it is not allowable to defer the day nor even the hour of the execution, the Sheriff was obliged to do the office of hangman himſelf.

The nobility in certain caſes, are by privilege beheaded; but murderers like Lord Ferrers are hanged. A butcher, who by trade is beſt qualified for wielding the axe is generally the perſon employed. He is choſen by the family of the criminal, who commonly make him a preſent of an axe with a ſilver handle.

The laws in general are not favourable to the fair ſex in England, and yet the women reign there with greater ſway than perhaps in any other country. They underſtand the art of ſubjecting both the men and the laws to the power of their charms, and of turning even thoſe that are leaſt in their favour to their peculiar advantage. Immediately after marriage the fortune of the wife becomes without reſtriction the property of the huſband; but no ſooner does he take poſſeſſion of it, then he becomes anſwerable

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for the debts of his wife and pays them; ſo that his *caraſpoſa* may make him dearly rue the bargain. I knew woman who though a foreigner, underſtood well enough how to take a cruel advantage of this privilege. She lived on bad terms with her huſband, and their union, already unhappy enough, became more ſo, by the ſtate of poverty into which they plunged themſelves. It was in this deſperate ſituation that the wife, in order to get rid of her huſband, contracted new debts, and what ſhe wiſhed for came to paſs; for not being able to pay them, he was arreſted and thrown into priſon. But it is ſtill harder to be thus uſed a few days after marriage for the old debts of a wife which have been married along with her. Prudent people never fail to make the neceſſary enquiries; for many women take huſbands for no other reaſon but becauſe they have contracted debts which they are unable to pay. It has ſometimes happened that husbands have been dragged from the nuptial couch to the ſtraw of a priſon.

A very ſingular adventure of this kind happened to a young man by birth a German. A very rich widow, who upon the death of her husband, had inherited his fortune with the burthen of his debts which were conſiderable, poſtponed the payment of them from day to day, till at laſt ſhe was

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on the point of being arreſted. In this alarming ſituation ſhe caſt her eyes upon a young German whoſe figure pleaſed her, but who, by his appearance, ſhewed her that fortune had treated him as a ſtep-mother. She ventured therefore to make him a moſt ſingular propoſition. She offered to give him her hand which he was to accept that very inſtant with a thouſand pounds Sterling ready money, informing him at the ſame time that in a few days he would probably be arreſted for her debts. He accepted the offer, and received a further promiſe of three hundred pounds a-year, during the time of his impriſonment, and a gratification of five hundred pounds to quit England the moment he ſhould be diſcharged. He was required ſolemnly to promiſe the obſervance of all theſe conditions, and to renounce all the other rights of a husband. Neceſſity forced him to conſent to whatever was required. As the law againſt clandeſtine marriages was not then in being, my countryman immediately eſpouſed the widow, received the ſtipulated ſum, was committed to the King's Bench priſon, where he lived peacefully and contented for two years, he was then included in the number of inſolvent debtors, and returned to his country with a conſiderable ſum of money.

In order to imprint with the greater effect on the minds of women the ſubmiſſion they owe to their huſbands, there is a law which condemns to a particular ſort of death the woman who has dared to aſſaſſinate her lawful ſpouſe. She is not hanged but burnt. However, as the Engliſh are declared enemies of all kinds of puniſhments attended with circumſtances of cruelty, the unhappy wretch is ſtrangled before her body is reduced to aſhes; but the preparations are ſo dreadful, that in general they produce the effect of the puniſhment itſelf; accordingly this crime is very rare. The murder of a huſband is conſidered as a ſpecies of treaſon, and is called petty treaſon. The laws carry the ſubmiſſion which the wife owes the husband, ſo for that if the former commits a crime in concert with the latter ſhe is not ſuppoſed to be amenable to juſtice for it. The obedience, it is ſaid, which ſhe owed her husband forced her to take part in the crime. On the ſame principle the husband is obliged to anſwer for the faults of his wife, and it is him, and not her who is proſecuted.

Among the ſingular laws of this country, there are two which if I am not miſtaken have never exiſted in any other ſtate. No traveller has ever mentioned them, be-

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cauſe there are thouſands, and I do not even except ſome of the Engliſh themſelves, who are entirely ignorant of their exiſtence. Would one believe it, that in a country where people ſwear at every word, where oaths make a part of the gallantry peculiar to ſailors, and the lower ranks, ſwearing is expreſsly prohibited by law? That law was made at the time when the Puritans were at the head of the government. As it is impoſſible, now that bigotry has ceaſed to infeſt the iſland, to maintain ſuch a law in force, and as it would be indecent to repeal it, the magiſtrates have agreed to be indulgent towards offenders. They cannot however refuſe to puniſh when a complaint is made againſt any one upon oath; but, in order to diſcourage ſuch accuſations, the fine has been fixed at the moderate ſum of one ſhilling for each offence.

The ſecond law is aimed againſt thoſe who are guilty of cruelty to animals. As theſe beings are always paſſive, it becomes the humanity of an enlightened nation to protect them from the barbarity of their maſters. Accuſations of this ſort are much more frequent, and leſs indulgence is ſhewn to the accuſed. The pecuniary fine is five or ſix ſhillings, and ſometimes more, according to the will of the magiſtrate or juſtice of peace, and the circumſtances of the

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caſe. Hence it happens that in England animals are treated with almoſt as much humanity as if they were rational beings. It is to this law that horſes and dogs are indebted for the kind uſage which they receive here. Cock-fighting, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter, is not liable to any fine, whence one would be tempted to think that this exception is a contradiction in the law; but the Engliſh do not think ſo; becauſe both the champions being on equal terms, and able to defend themſelves againſt each other, neither of them plays a paſſive part in theſe curious combats.

Among the ſingularities of Engliſh legiſlation muſt alſo be reckoned the office of conſtables. Theſe muſt not be conſidered as officers of juſtice. They are all decent citizens, carrying on trade, and occupying a houſe, whom the law obliges to diſcharge the functions of this office, which are to guard the public ſecurity and order. The duty of conſtable is reckoned among the civil offices of each pariſh. Nobody can refuſe to accept it, and there is no ſalary to indemnify for the trouble attending it. The law fixes the duration of the office to a year; but the poorer citizens can, by paying a ſmall ſum, procure the term to be enlarged. In this way they can render a ſervice,

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which is always well rewarded, to the richer citizen whose turn is come. The conſtables do not arreſt debtors, that duty belongs to the bailiffs. Neither will they riſk their lives in endeavouring to apprehend highwaymen; for this ſervice there are people employed on purpoſe. The people annex a ſort of infamy to theſe laſt, as well as to bailiffs; the thiefcatchers are only deſpiſed, but the bailiffs are in general hated; no mercy is ſhewn them if they either miſtake the perſon they ought to arreſt, or exceed the powers they are entruſted with. If a debtor whom they are conducting to priſon, endeavours to eſcape, the people never fail to facilitate his attempt. The caſe is quite otherwiſe with the conſtables who are in general reſpected. A perſon ſeized by a conſtable is conſidered as a diſturber of the public peace, and far from conniving at his eſcape, every body without diſtinction of rank or condition, runs after him to ſeize him. The diſtinctive mark of a conſtable is a long ſtaff on which the arms of England are engraven.

The perſon of the Lord High Chancellor repreſents a whole court: he is authoriſed in ſome caſes to moderate the too great ſeverity of the laws, and to take care that the magiſtrates be not only right but reaſonable in the judgements they pronounce. His tribunal is accordingly called the court of Equity.

Equity. In it are no jurymen, the Chancellor is the ſole and only judge. He is likewiſe the firſt tutor of all the orphans in the kingdom, ſo that he is often obliged by the duty of his office to take charge of the concerns of certain individuals in the loweſt claſs of citizens. His court is always open; it has no vacations like the other courts, in order that that famous law, the *habeas corpus* act, may at all times, and at every hour of the day be put in execution in favour of every perſon whatever. Conſidering the great importance of this office, it is evident that it cannot be filled but by a perſon of firſt rate abilities, and accordingly the moſt diſtinguiſhed talents are always inſeparable from this high dignity. Whatever intrigues and cabals the Engliſh miniſters are made the ſport of, it is always neceſſary that the talents of the perſon raiſed to the dignity of Chancellor be univerſally acknowledged.

How ingenious ſoever the Engliſh may be in evading a law which operates to their diſadvantage they are always ſufficiently careful not to infringe it directly. This fear is ſtronger in the rich and powerful of the community, than among the people of the lower ranks; in every other country the contrary is the caſe. It is, for inſtance, very rare to ſee a perſon of diſtinction lift his hand to a man of inferior ſtation, however

incenſed he may be againſt him. The miniſters themſelves armed almoſt with abſolute power rarely infringe the laws, even in the ſmalleſt degree, and however improbable it may be that a complaint ſhould ever be made of them, it is ſufficient that an act of parliament has decided peremptorily on any point to prevent the miniſter from thinking of acting contrary to it. I have even ſeen examples of this, and was tempted to conſider as caprice ſo ill founded a ſcruple.

CHAP. IX.

CHAP IX.

THE priſons in which debtors are detained in England are ſuch as one would expect from a nation who are ſo well acquainted with the ſacred and powerful rights of humanity. Debtors are not impriſoned as a puniſhment, but ſolely to keep them ſecurely in cuſtody. As it is very eaſy to contract debts in England, ſo it is eaſy to imagine that the priſons will never want inhabitants.

The poorer people, provided they are not abſolute beggars, do their utmoſt to obtain a houſe to themſelves, and to become, according to the Engliſh expreſſion, a *houſekeeper*; for, beſides the convenience attending it, there are alſo certain privileges attached to the condition. Accordingly the moſt wretched tenement hired under their own name is preferred to the firſt floor of another houſe. Hence it comes that there are ſo many houſes in London which are in the proportion of five to three to thoſe in Paris, where the inhabitants are heaped upon one another in houſes of immenſe height. In this too Engliſh liberty is conſpicuous. It often happens that in ſuch a

houſe, the whole furniture conſiſts of a bed, a table and a few chairs, and yet the quality of houſekeeper gives the proprietor a certain degree of credit, and people make no difficulty in lending him money or goods. Butchers, bakers, taylors, ſhoemakers, &c. furniſh him with what he wants without inſiſting on immediate payment; people in eaſy circumſtances get credit till Chriſtmas; but to the poor a certain time is fixed; for whenever the debt amounts to forty ſhillings, the creditor is entitled to have his debtor arreſted, and nothing is more eaſy. The creditor goes to the proper magiſtrate, and having made oath to the debt obtains a writ or warrant of arreſt.

The bailiffs whom I formerly mentioned, by virtue of their office, take upon them to arreſt the debtor. The people abhor theſe bailiffs as may eaſily be imagined. They lead an eaſy life, inhabit elegant houſes, which are at the ſame time a ſort of temporary priſons for the perſons arreſted. The creditor ſends him his writ with inſtructions for executing the arreſt, as the laws prohibit all forcible entrance for ſuch a purpoſe into the houſe of the debtor. When he is ſeized, the bailiff conducts him to his own houſe where he may remain four and twenty hours, during which time he does all that is in his power, either to make up

matters

matters with the creditor, or to find ſecurity. If the accomodation is not finiſhed within the twenty four hours, the bailiff carries him to priſon; but if there is a probability that matters will be ſatisfactorily accomodated the following day, the debtor may ſtill remain, provided he gives ſecurity to indemnify the bailiff for the pecuniary fine he may incur, for allowing him to remain longer than four and twenty hours, the time preſcribed by the law.

The ſecurity which the debtor furniſhes is not in favour of the creditor; it is only an engagement that the debtor will appear to his action in court. He may in the mean while endeavour to compromiſe matters amicably. If he ſucceeds, he muſt ſignify it to the court before which he had promiſed to appear. Two houſeholders are neceſſary in ſecurity; if theſe people are in eaſy circumſtances and the debt inconſiderable, the bailiff is obliged to accept them as ſureties; for he being anſwerable for the conſequences does not aſk the conſent of the creditor: When theſe ſureties do not appear to him ſufficient, it is his duty to carry the debtor to jail, and to commit the whole matter to the court, which muſt accept the ſureties if they make oath that their fortune is at leaſt double the amount of the debt. When the two houſeholders have

thus made oath, the firſt judge in England cannot refuſe to take their bail even though he ſhould remark in them every appearance of poverty. A refuſal would involve him in very diſagreeable proceedings, whence he could not extricate himſelf without proving that the ſureties had made a falſe oath. The wiſeſt laws may be abuſed, as is the caſe with the one we are talking of. There are knaves who make a livelihood by becoming ſureties. They inhabit miſerable hovels in the outſkirts of the town, and have no furniture in them but a few old chairs, and rotten tables, which would not be worth carriage if they were to be taken in pledge. The German Jews are notorious for this honeſt traffic; for in quality of houſekeepers they too muſt be admitted as ſureties. Debtors who endeavour to eſcape, or to conceal themſelves for a time, purchaſe the ſecurity of theſe fellows for a ſum proportioned to the debt, nearly at the rate of ten per cent. The debtor is in this way ſet at liberty. When at the time appointed no appearance is made, recourſe is had to the ſureties, who take care not to be found, though their hovels are; then their furniture is taken in pledge, and this finiſhes the proceſs, except the creditor will be at the expence of ſeizing the Jews and maintaining them afterwards in priſon.

Readers

Readers, who cannot conceive how means are not fallen upon to rectify ſuch abuſes, ſhould remember that it is London we are talking of, a place which it is impoſſible to form a juſt judgment of by compariſon, even with that of any other large city. Its manners, cuſtoms and laws, are frequently ſo interwoven with the conſtitution of the ſtate, that it would be almoſt impoſſible to alter any part of this vaſt edifice without endangering the whole. This is the reaſon that abuſes remain without a remedy, which a diſtant obſerver thinks he could eaſily rectify. Can it be ſuppoſed that if amendments were ſo eaſy a thing, the great lawyers of the kingdom who are at the head of the miniſtry ſuch as a Thurlow and a Mansfield, would not long ago have obviated thoſe inconveniences which are ſo troubleſome to themſelves? Lord Mansfield has for many years been at the head of the law. As a ſtateſman he is not celebrated; but his eloquence is univerſally acknowledged. You would think, to hear him ſpeak at the Court of Kings Bench where he preſides, that an oracle was pronouncing its dictates. He is conſidered as Themis herſelf in all cauſes in which the government is not immediately concerned; there is ſo much wiſdom and dignity in every ſentence he utters. At the famous trial of Lord George Gordon, which was held

held before his Court, this reſpectable magiſtrate forgot the burning of his own houſe, his library and his precious collection of rarities of every kind, and behaved as a judge whoſe duty it is to explain the laws, and to pronounce judgement according to their deciſions. He treated that madman Gordon with an unexampled moderation and compaſſion; he collected with great impartiality all the proofs of his innocence, and decided in his favour. He never appears as a courtier, except when the intereſts of the court come before him officially. I was a witneſs of a very ſingular ſcene between him and a German Jew who appeared at his bar all in rags. This fellow came with great effrontery to offer himſelf as ſecurity for three hundred pounds. Lord Mansfield expreſſed ſome doubt as to the pecuniary circumſtances of this honeſt ſurety; but the Jew, taking from his pocket ſeveral bank bills, aſked his lordſhip in a ſarcaſtic manner if he knew that money. Mansfield was ſilent, and the ſecurity accepted. It is more than probable that ſome of the rich Jews who were preſent had ſlipt the notes into his hands to ſerve the particular purpoſe.

By virtue of the act of *habeas corpus* a debtor detained in priſon may procure himſelf to be removed to any priſon in the kingdom

kingdom he chuſes. This proceeding coſts him about three pounds; the ſmallneſs of the ſum makes all the great debtors when they can afford the money, or when there is no proſpect of their being ſoon diſcharged, to take advantage of this privilege. As in England there are two priſons which differ in their economy from any other priſons in Europe, I mean the King's Bench, and the Fleet, the choice generally falls upon one of the two. The laſt is ſituated in the centre of the town, the other out of the town in St George's fields. No traveller, that I know of, has ever given a particular account of thoſe ſingular and romantic priſons. They have only been mentioned occaſionally in ſome Engliſh novels, which readers who are not acquainted with the country, very naturally conſider as fictions or improbabilities. So true it is that in Germany we have hardly any true idea of a nation which we are continually talking about, which we endeavour to imitate in ſo many things, and which is ſo near us!

It may be ſaid that the two priſons of the King's Bench and the Fleet are two republics exiſting in the boſom of the metropolis, and entirely independant. The ſituation and ſize of the firſt renders it more commodious than the other. Imagine to yourſelf a wall incloſing an immenſe extent

tent of ground, and ſurrounding a number of houſes, deſtined for the reception of priſoners: a garden in which they may walk, a place for playing at tennis, &c. All the priſoners who are artificers, or who underſtand trades that require not much room, nor great preparations, may exerciſe them here, and they hang out a ſign at the door of their habitations. Taylors, ſhoemakers, peruke makers, &c. work not only for the other priſoners, but for perſons without, and they are never unemployed. Such people generally bring their families along with them and live very comfortably. The number of free perſons, ſometimes exceeds that of the priſoners and the total amounts frequently to two or even to three thouſand. Only the entrance to this encloſure is guarded, the greateſt liberty reigns within; there are neither grates nor bolts, nor locks, nor jailor, nothing in ſhort that beſpeaks a priſon. As the rooms are not ſhut, the priſoners may divert themſelves together the whole night long, accordingly there are balls and concerts and even the Freemaſons have a lodge there. It was in the King's Bench that Wilkes was made a maſon in 1769.

The gates of the priſon are open from ſeven o'clock in the morning to nine o' clock in the evening. The free perſons

ſons may go out, and come in at all the intermediate hours without being queſtioned. When Wilkes was there, the paſſage was always choked up with carriages going and coming. It ſometimes happens that perſons who are in danger of being arreſted, take refuge in this place with their friends who are priſoners, and never go out till they have made up matters with their creditors, or taken the neceſſary meaſures. For by the conſtitution of this ſingular republic, which I will deſcribe hereafter, the perſons who in this manner take up their habitation in the priſon, can, in no ſhape be harraſſed by the people without. They are here in ſure ſanctuary which no bailiff can enter. He never comes further than the hall at the entrance, to deliver over his priſoner to the porter. Woe to him that makes a ſtep further. It happened a few years ago, however, that one of theſe gentlemen in diſguiſe, endeavoured to inveigle a widow towards the gate that he might arreſt her. She had taken refuge here with a brother of hers, to avoid the perſecution of a pitileſs creditor who ſeemed determined to have her in his power, He therefore promiſed a conſiderable reward to the bailiff in caſe of ſucceſs. He made the attempt, and was diſcovered. Immediately his retreat was cut off, and the ſignal given to announce the preſence of a diſturber of the

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public repoſe. All the inhabitants quit their dwellings, and ſurround the unfortunate bailiff, aſking him how he dared venture within their walls. The writ which was found in his pocket ſufficiently told his errand. Not being able to excuſe himſelf, he aſked pardon; but in order to prevent ſuch attempts for the future, it was neceſſary to make an example of him, and a ſingular puniſhment was impoſed on him. He was condemned to eat the piece of parchment on which his writ was engroſſed. The wretched bailiff was forced to obey, the parchment was cut into bits, which he was obliged to ſwallow bit by bit till the very laſt.

In this priſon there are rooms that would not diſgrace a palace, and theſe are poſſeſſed by rich people who pay for them highly: for it is not uncommon to ſee people who poſſeſs conſiderable wealth lodged in this priſon, where they continue as long as they pleaſe, and at laſt make ſome compromiſe with their creditors. During their reſidence in this ſtrange place they invite other priſoners to entertainments, as they would do in their own houſes in London. Perſons are ſeen there, dreſſed in the moſt elegant manner; and companies of men and women in apartments richly furniſhed ſitting at cards. The mirth and good humour that generally reign there never

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once allow them to recollect that they are in a priſon.

As no perſons go to the King's Bench but ſuch as have money (for it coſts ſomething to take the benefit of the Habeas Corpus act, and perſons when they have no money rather chuſe to be impriſoned in the Marſhalſea,) the firſt thing a new comer has to do, is to hire one or more rooms, formerly occupied by ſome other priſoner who has either left the place or changed lodgings. The moſt moderate rent for one chamber is half a guinea, for which the poor priſoner may be accomodated very decently. But if he does not chooſe, or is not able to be at the expence, he muſt take up with a part of a room common to many priſoners till a room falls to him in turn, which he may either keep to himſelf, or let out to others. The name of the ſtreet, and the number of the houſe where theſe chambers are to be let are advertiſed; as are alſo all public auctions or any thing extraordinary that is to be ſeen or ſold. The coffee houſe is a very elegant place; the view from it of St George's fields is very beautiful. To this place the people come to read the magazines and public papers, and they are always ſure to find very agreeable company, perſons of very reſpectable characters, whoſe fortunes have been deranged by una-

voidable disasters. In this coffee-house it was that Parson Horne wrote his famous work on the government and laws of England. Wilkes too formed here his plan of future greatness, which his prudent firmness afterwards realized. Rodney lived here a few months before he appeared on the theatre of war and made himself by his exploits the admiration of Europe.

There are certain districts in the neighbourhood of the King's Bench and of the Fleet called rules, which form a circuit of about two English miles. The prisoner may not only walk in those rules, but stay in them, when he can find a person who will be security, not for the payment of his debts, but for his not running away. The security consists in becoming bound by writing to indemnify the Marshal of the King's Bench, who is answerable for his prisoners to the whole amount of his fortune in case the debtor should escape. If he wishes to have a companion in his walks round the prison, he may take one of the prisoners, whose debts are not very considerable, by becoming security for him, that is, by joining the debts of that person to his own, which in case of an escape he would be obliged to pay. A man arrested for the sum of ten thousand pounds and who has obtained permission to walk in the rules, may take with him any

any priſoners whoſe debts do not amount to one or two hundred pounds. There are ſome agreeable gardens in the neighbourhood of the King's Bench priſon which are much frequented by the priſoners, and whither they often go to drink tea. The appointments of the Marſhal of this priſon are worth three thouſand pounds, but he is obliged to find ſecurity in a very large ſum, as he is bound to pay the debts of ſuch priſoners as eſcape. Ten years ago four of them got away by a hole which they had contrived to make in the garden wall, whoſe debts amounted to fifteen hundred pounds. Before paying this ſum, the marſhal made a very ſingular propoſal: he offered to pay them fifty per cent of their debt in ready money if they would return. Three of them accepted the offer; they returned to their antient habitation and received the ſtipulated ſum. To prevent in future ſuch diſagreeable accidents he doubled the guards at the gates and round the wall. Many marſhals have in this way loſt conſiderable ſums and have come to poverty. However hard this may be on an individual the general good requires and depends on it. In ſo large a place as London, and in conſequence of the treatment the priſoners meet with, it is abſolutely neceſſary that creditors ſhould have ſomething to depend on; without which corruption and negligence, would multiply the means of eſcape.

The marſhal keeps a number of people who watch conſtantly at the gates of the priſon. All who enter or come out are obliged to paſs through a chamber in which theſe people ſtay the whole day. They examine with great attention every priſoner as he arrives, but they are not permitted to come within the priſon under any pretence whatever.

After what I have ſaid, it will be evident that there does not exiſt on the face of the earth any priſon that reſembles the King's Bench; and yet I have not mentioned what characterizes and diſtinguiſhes it moſt particularly, its republican conſtitution. The marſhal has no command within the walls, and accordingly he enters but ſeldom into the precincts of an eſtabliſhment which is confided to his vigilance. Every priſoner, man, or woman, is a member of that republic, and has a ſhare of all its privileges. A certain number of perſons with a preſident at their head, meet every week to regulate affairs. At theſe meetings diſputes are ſettled, complaints are heard and decided, and regulations for the police of the place are made: in ſhort they act exactly like members of a republic. Every individual has a right to attend the meetings, and give his opinion. Thoſe who do not poſſeſs the talent of public ſpeaking, and the women

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when they have any complaint to make, employ others to do it for them. Theſe proceedings will appear laughable to many of my readers; but the conſequences are by no means trivial. In no kingdom of the earth, are the laws ſo well obſerved as in this little commonwealth. The ſevereſt juſtice dictates the decrees that are pronounced with a noble dignity, and put in execution without appeal. An Engliſh colonel on half pay, a man of great abilities and eloquence, was a few years ago, perpetual preſident of this meeting which he maintained in great order. When any priſoner refuſes to pay a debt contracted in the priſon, a formal complaint is made to the meeting. The debtor is ſummoned to appear, and he is obliged to obey the ſummons. If he refuſes, they drag him by force to the court where his cauſe becomes ſo much the worſe. Twelve jurymen, as in the ſupreme courts of the nation, after having made the neceſſary examinations, pronounce the ſentence; the perſon caſt, has no appeal. If he aſks time it is granted to him; but if he fails when that time is elapſed, all his effects are ſeized, and ſold for the benefit of the creditor, even his very bed if it is neceſſary for the ſatisfaction of the debt.

Even criminal actions which relate only to thefts or to blows given, are carried on before this court. The guilty perſon, with a label on his breaſt, containing his crime, is led through all the courts of the place, and a kind of herald proclaims with a loud voice the reaſon of his puniſhment, and warns the inhabitants to beware of him. Every body then looks on the criminal with a degree of horror; but as ſuch a perſon cannot leave the narrow circle in which he now in a manner only vegetates, it ſeldom happens that a perſon expoſes himſelf to a puniſhment ſo dreadful in its conſequences. It may therefore be ſaid, that the laws of this little commonwealth and the puniſhments they inflict, perfectly anſwer their end.

The community likewiſe takes care to maintain certain of the common people under the name of watchmen who, according to the cuſtom of London, call the hours during the night, and tell what ſort of weather it is, and are attentive to prevent fires. Their occupation during the day is to make known new regulations, to publiſh advertiſements, and to give notice of things loſt: in a word, they inform the community of what is neceſſary to be known. The families, or friends, the domeſtics of the priſoners who come to ſtay

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with them, or to ſpend ſome time in their company, all perſons who remain a night in the priſon, are under the protection of the community, and if any offence is offered to them, they may expect to receive the moſt ſpeedy and effectual juſtice; but if they themſelves offend, they are not ſuffered to remain a moment longer within the walls, nor are they ever allowed to return. In caſes of importance, the perſon who receives an outrage, may ſummon the offender before the national courts, and if he does not find himſelf in a condition to defray the expence of the ſuit, his fellow priſoners will raiſe it for him by ſubſcription among themſelves. According to the laws of the country, a priſoner may inſtitute an action of debt without money; he pays about ſix farthings into the poors box, and an attorney is provided, who carries on his proceſs without a fee.

I do not know whether all theſe privileges are founded on any law; they are however allowed by the legiſlature in compenſation for the liberty of which theſe people are deprived; and becauſe a debtor does not deſerve to be puniſhed, but to be pitied, even when it is not only accident, but negligence, and inexperience that have brought him into that condition. Even without theſe conſiderations, the conduct of

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the government in this caſe is very laudable. What diſorder, how many law ſuits, what outrages of every kind would take place among ſuch a number of priſoners, if a wiſe policy did not guard againſt inconveniencies by permitting them to enforce order and harmony among themſelves! Without this they would be obliged to adopt the Pariſian method, and to treat debtors like atrocious criminals. In the French priſons, they are crowded one upon another in horrible dungeons, they are beat without diſtinction of age, ſex, or rank; they are maltreated by their companions, devoured by hunger, eaten by vermin, and they curſe their miſerable exiſtence. What a contraſt between the two nations! Yet the French are not aſhamed to call the Engliſh ſevere and ſavage, and even ſome of my countrymen are not aſhamed to repeat the ſame ſentiments, and to judge of a whole nation by the diſſolute lives of ſome of the populace.

There are likewiſe ſeveral merchants eſtabliſhed within the precincts of the King's Bench, who trade in merchandizes, which are exempted from payment of duties, and which conſequently they can ſell at a lower rate. Among other articles they ſell tea and coffee, ſpirituous liquors and candles, which, as they are not liable to the ſurvey of an

exciſe officer, the merchants can ſell in retail, and it may eaſily be inagined that many perſons will go there to purchaſe ſuch articles from them. This abuſe muſt not be conſidered as a licence tolerated by government; it took its riſe under a negligent miniſtry, and it has not yet been thought worth while to correct it.

Debtors who require ſubſiſtence from their creditors appear before a court and make oath they are incapable of gaining a livelihood in priſon, after which the creditor is obliged to furniſh them with the ſum ſtipulated by law. This alimentary allowance was formerly very ſmall; it amounted only to fourpence a day, but of late years it has been encreaſed. Few debtors have recourſe to it, becauſe the oath they are obliged to take, hurts their ſelf-love, the return being ſo inconſiderable. A very ſingular cuſtom with regard to this matter muſt be mentioned. The payment of the allowance is made every Saturday for the following week. If the creditor fails to pay or forgets his debtor which may eaſily happen, when he lives at any diſtance from the King's Bench, the priſoner is releaſed, and the debt is diſcharged. It needs only to be legally proved that the allowance was not paid. The priſoner never receives more than the payment of one weeks allowance at a time: in that caſe the money would

would be loſt and the creditor obliged to return with a week's allowance the following Saturday, becauſe the act of parliament, which, like all the laws in England is interpreted ſtrictly according to the letter, has fixed the payment every Saturday. It is for this reaſon that nobody in theſe priſons will undertake to pay the money for the creditor, even though it ſhould be previously depoſited in the hands of a third perſon. Acts of grace from time to time open the priſon doors to moſt of the priſoners; I ſay moſt, for ſome are excepted. There is beſides a degree of infamy annexed to the ceremony; many people have ſome fortune and therefore are not inſolvent; there are others who conſidering the advantages reſulting from their trade in contraband goods, are not deſirous of being releaſed. The names of all inſolvent debtors, who take the benefit of an act of grace, are publiſhed in the Gazettes, and before they obtain it, they are obliged to ſwear publicly that they are not in condition to ſatisfy their creditors. The Engliſh do not think it diſgraceful to be impriſoned for debt, but they think it exceedingly ſo to be declared *cleared by the act*. They are aſked in court whether they have nothing to give in pledge to their creditors. When this queſtion was put to the unfortunate Theodore, who was releaſed by an act of grace, "*Yes*," ſaid he

he, '*the kingdom of Corſica.*' As it is ſaid, and declared in the act, that ſuch inſolvent debtors as ſhall be found in priſon at a certain day, will be entitled to the benefit of it, perſons arrive from the moſt diſtant parts of Europe thus to diſcharge the debts they contracted in England. Not only natives but foreigners profit by this act. The famous Italian ſinger Tenducci, who had run in debt to the amount of ten thouſand pounds, returned to London to take advantage of the laſt act of grace in 1777. He was afterwards engaged at the theatre in Drury Lane, and the following year left the country, having incurred a new arrear of ſome thouſand pounds. All the priſons of England would not be ſufficient for containing the prodigious number of debtors both Engliſh and foreign, who come for this purpoſe to give themſelves up. A ſingular method has therefore been adopted to accomodate the old priſoners, and the new comers. Theſe laſt are not admitted into the priſons, but are allowed to diſperſe themſelves, and inhabit in London under the quality of priſoners. In order to acquire a right to this privilege ſo important to them, they allow themſelves to be confined for a few hours; they then promiſe to appear when they ſhall be ſummoned; and it is pretty certain that they will keep their word, as by that means they obtain the end they wiſh for.

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As the military are ſubject to the civil juriſdiction, and no crimes are judged by martial law, but thoſe committed againſt the ſervice, it is not uncommon to find ſoldiers in priſon for debt or in conſequence of a criminal ſuit againſt them. A ſtranger, but particularly a German who is accuſtomed to ſee the ſoldier contraſted in every thing with the citizen, is much aſtoniſhed at this cuſtom. I ſaw a bailiff arreſt an officer in the open ſtreet, and carry him away. People dont carry their complaints againſt a ſoldier to his colonel, but to the courts. The private men indeed accuſe one another before the commander of the regiment, who, when the crime is too great, or when it may give riſe to a criminal action, is then no competent judge, but muſt deliver over the criminal to ſome national court. One of the guards who had ſerved in Germany during the ſeven years war, where he had learnt ſome military tricks and knaveries, attempted ſome years after the peace, as he was ſtanding centry in the park, to take the hat off a man's head who was performing ſome neceſſary duty; but this German cuſtom would not paſs in England. The man went to a juſtice of peace, where he obtaintained a warrant againſt the ſoldier after having ſworn that he had robbed him of his hat in the ſtreet. The robber was ſeized

zed, tried, and condemned for a robbery; but the king pardoned him.

No debtor can be arreſted on Sunday. This ſeaſon of grace begins at midnight, between Saturday and Sunday, and continues till twelve o'clock on Sunday evening. They may go during that time where they pleaſe, even to the houſes of their creditors, who often have them watched in vain during the reſt of the week, without being able to arreſt them. Sureties alone have the privilege of ſeizing the perſons for whom they were ſecurity and who have eſcaped, on Sunday, and even in the church; and neither a new action nor new ſecurity can relieve them again. This privilege is the more juſt, as an Engliſhman, being naturally prone to confidence, eaſily becomes ſecurity, even for a ſtranger, when the ſum is not very great, and that without having any particular intereſt in the affair. Thus the eſcape of a perſon in ſuch circumſtances is conſidered as one of the moſt infamous of actions.

The bailiff muſt be very cautious when he arreſts a debtor. The writ is valid only in certain diſtricts which he muſt not paſs except he has one or two other writs. For inſtance, the city, the county of Middleſex

and Surrey, have each their particular juriſdiction. There is a certain quarter at Weſtminſter, adjoining to the Park which the bailiff cannot enter and where debtors are in ſecurity. This quarter, which likewiſe includes St James's Park, is called the *Verge of the Court.* It is ſubject to the juriſdiction of the Board of Green cloth. The expence of arreſting a debtor in this place amounts to eighty pounds, and when the Board grants the writ the debtor gets notice of it four and twenty hours before. This happens but ſeldom now, ſo that all the houſes within the verge are continually full, and lodging is dearer there than any where elſe in London. When the bailiff arreſts a perſon by miſtake, the law obliges him to pay ſuch perſon a guinea for every hour he is detained.

The Engliſh proverb, *my houſe is my caſtle*, is not an unmeaning one, for a perſon can't be arreſted for debt in his own houſe. But if the bailiff, finding the doors open, can enter, and have a ſight of the owner, and preſent his writ to him, then the debtor is obliged to ſurrender. There are no ſtratagems which bailiffs do not put in practice in order to accompliſh their end. They dreſs themſelves ſometimes as Lords, ſometimes as footmen, and ſometimes

times they disguise themselves in the habit of women. They are not permitted to open the door of a room, though they sometimes pass the bounds prescribed, hoping that the debtor will not have money enough to prosecute them for it. They are sometimes deceived. About twelve or fourteen years ago, General Gansel carried on a very singular law suit of this kind. He had no house of his own, but lived very economically in furnished lodgings on his half pay. His creditors came to seize him in his retreat. The bailiffs forced open the doors, and found the General, who received them with his pistols prefented, and wounded some of them, but was at last obliged to yield to numbers who dragged him to prison, where he immediately commenced his action. All England was attentive to the determination of this question, whether a lodger ought in this case to enjoy the same privilege with the proprietor of a house. It was determined, not by a common Jury, but by the twelve Judges, to the great satisfaction of the nation in the affirmative. In consequence of this judgement, the bailiffs notwithstanding their wounds, were immediately conducted to prison, and General Gansel, whose debts were considerable, was carried to the Fleet, where he died a few years ago.

CHAP. X.

THE Engliſh have no word in their language to expreſs *police;* but it would be a great miſtake to ſuppoſe that the thing itſelf did not exiſt among them. Foreigners who cannot ſeparate the idea of the city of London from that of the robbers who wait for them on the great roads that lead to it, maintain that this is one of the worſt regulated cities in the world. Every thing conſidered however, the police of London is as perfect as it is poſſible for it to be, in a city inhabited by ſuch a prodigious number of men, in the full enjoyment of liberty. But when conſidered in the true point of view which ſhould never be loſt ſight of, it is admirable. The human mind never appears ſo great in the eye of a philoſopher as when he views thoſe millions of men, preſſed and crowded upon one another, whom neither military force, nor the ſceptre of a Sovereign, but the inviſible curb of the laws keeps united together, maintaining that order and harmony which are neceſſary to the exiſtence of ſo gigantic a body. If moreover we conſider the riches of that great city, all thoſe pleaſures which they command together with the luxury of the

times, is it poſſible not be ſurprized that theſe prodigious maſſes do not by too violent a colliſion excite the moſt dangerous ſparks? It even ſeems to me inconceivable how that army of indigent people which ſwarm upon the ſtreets of the metropolis, are not incited, by viewing the luxury and voluptuous life of the rich, to become murderers and aſſaſſins. The robberies and great crimes committed in London are very few in proportion to its bulk. A wiſe and prudent watchfulneſs may diminiſh the evil; but it is not given to human wiſdom to deſtroy it, while London continues as huge, without walls and gates, and while the kingdom preſerves the freedom of its preſent conſtitution.

I ſhall here give a few inſtances of the police of London in its preſent ſtate. The poor of every pariſh are maintained by a fund which each houſeholder contributes a proportional ſum to. A great number of hoſpitals, which are the perfection of ſuch foundations by the ſpirit of order, cleanlineſs and neatneſs, which prevail in them, are open to the ſick of all nations, and of all religions; ſome of theſe hoſpitals are maintained by annual ſubſcriptions. The ſtreets are magnificently illuminated during the night, the lamps are lighted when the day begins to decline all the year over

without regard to moon light, which is often obſcured by clouds, but which many other cities make an economical uſe of. Theſe lamps extend for ſix or ſeven miles into the country, to give light to the great roads. At every five hundred paces ſtands a ſmall houſe inhabited by a watchman with fire arms; and a little bell ſuſpended at the top of his dwelling, ſerves to give the alarm. There are beſides in London two thouſand watchmen, who call the hours during the night; theſe have no fire arms but are provided with a rattle, the ſound of which is a ſignal of diſturbance, and a call for aid. They inform the proprietors of houſes when their doors have been left open, and are attentive to prevent fires. The precautions taken to avert the conſequences of this terrible ſcourge are alſo very prudent. At the firſt alarm of fire, people run from all quarters with the water engines that are entruſted to them. The firſt who arrives receives a reward of five guineas, the ſecond three, and the third one guinea; the reſt get nothing. But the deſire of gaining one of the three prizes makes them very alert.

Houſes are inſured as well as their furniture. All ſtreets great and ſmall, lanes, and croſs-ways, have their names marked on their corners. The houſes are numbered above the doors, and the name of the

proprietor is often marked on a brass plate. Every house in that immense city is provided with water by subterraneous pipes that run under the pavement of the streets. As it often happens that these pipes cross one another, the manner in which they are divided and separated is marked on the outside walls of the houses. The pavement, excellent of itself, is made more so, by the constant care that is taken of it: it is astonishing how neat and clean the streets are kept. There is a certain number of hackney coaches appointed for every district; these must attend every day, and they dare not on any pretence whatever refuse to carry you to any part of the city you choose to go to. The number of the coach is marked on square plates of tin affixed to the doors, and they must not be taken off, even for the space of an hour, under the penalty of ten shillings. The hire of these coaches is regulated according to the time and the distance, and if the coachman asks more than his due, he is severely punished. It is the same with the barges that ply on the Thames; they are not only numbered, but have the names of the owners painted on them; and every oar has the same mark. When complaints are made against these people the speediest justice is done. These complaints are made before courts established for the purpose,

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and the offender is treated with great severity. A determinate number of constables are obliged to keep guard till midnight in every quarter of the town; they must be ready at every hour of the day to perform the duties of their function; and they cannot refuse the very lowest of the people. The judges give audience every day, and if indispensible business calls one of them abroad, another is always to be found within a few steps. The aldermen of the city likewise give audience daily, they attend to the complaints brought before their court, and give summary justice in common cases. All these transactions are carried on in public without expence to the parties, consequently the judges can neither be suspected of corruption nor injustice. The Lord Mayor too holds a court in the Mansion House, &c. &c. From all these circumstances it will be easy to judge whether the police of London be good or bad. The French and their admirers think the latter, because it is not usual to imprison and oppress twenty innocent people to get at one guilty person.

The laws against highwaymen are very severe, and robbery, when it is proved, is punished with death. In order to prevent bands and combinations of robbers, it is wisely

wiſely enacted that a guilty perſon may eſcape puniſhment by diſcovering his accomplice, and becoming evidence againſt him. This method, which villains ſometimes take advantage of, ſows diſtruſt among them, and prevents them from uniting, which might have very dangerous conſequences. Armed people are ſometimes ſent in queſt of them, to the moſt frequented roads in the neighbourhood of the city. The robbers always place their confidence in the fleetneſs of their horſe, and in their perfect knowledge of the country.

It is to be remarked that they ſeldom go beyond the diſtance of four miles from London, becauſe it would be very difficult for them to eſcape at a greater diſtance while that immenſe city envelopes them as it were in an inſtant, and eaſily ſcreens them from all purſuit.

Robbery here is practiſed in different ways by different claſſes of people diſtinguiſhed by the names of highwaymen, foot-pads, houſe-breakers, and pick-pockets. Theſe laſt are the moſt deſpicable of all, except they have acquired much dexterity in their art. Theſe different kinds of robbers keep themſelves perfectly diſtinct, and do not encroach on the province of each other

other. A highwayman would think himſelf diſhonoured by ſneakingly picking a pocket.

The addreſs of the nightly thieves who brave the vigilance of the two thouſand watchmen eſtabliſhed in the city, is equal to their impudence. They open locks, remove windows, cut through iron bars, and all with the greateſt celerity, and leaſt noiſe. When ſurprized by the watchman or the people of the houſe, they throw away their inſtruments and fly. They melt the ſilver plate which they carry off, to prevent detection by the mark; and they have purchaſers for every kind of goods. As theſe people encourage thieves by this ſhameful traffic they are doubly puniſhed. They were formerly tranſported to America for fourteen years, and the thief only for ſeven.

Although they are entitled to the benefit of the law which pardons them upon diſcovering an accomplice, yet they form ſocieties, and relying on their mutual fidelity, excerciſe their trade in concert. Young women too, whom nature by laviſhing her favours on them ſeems to have entitled to our reſpect, attach themſelves to theſe miſcreants. They act as ſpies during the day, at night they diſguiſe themſelves, and aſſiſt

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in profiting by the diſcoveries they have made.

The pickpockets as I have ſaid, form a diſtinct claſs. It is by cunning and addreſs and not by force that they attain their ends, and accordingly they are never armed. They never form gangs, each trading on his own ſingle account ; and they all know where to diſpoſe of the things they have filched. Some of theſe fellows, by means of dreſs, inſinuate themſelves into the beſt companies, and their impudence is often crowned with ſucceſs. A young man, named Barrington, much famed in London for dexterity in this way, and for the eaſy manners of a man of faſhion, a few years ago, entred the box in Drury Lane playhouſe, where the Prince Orloff was ſitting, from whom he ſtole a ſnuff box ſet round with diamonds. It was diſcovered, and the Prince wiſhed the raſcal to be puniſhed, but when he was informed that he would be obliged to appear perſonally as proſecutor, he ſtifled his reſentment.

Nothing is more aſtoniſhing than the fidelity, I may even ſay the probity, of thoſe people to one another. It appears viſibly, and in the moſt ſingular manner, in the proſecutions that are brought againſt them, in the riſks they run, in the diviſion they make

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of the ſpoil &c. and juſtifies the Engliſh Proverb, *there is honour even among thieves.*

This infamous trade has in a manner been immortalized by Gay in his Beggar's Opera, which is ſometimes repreſented in London thirty times in a-year, and is one of the moſt favourite pieces of the Engliſh ſtage. It muſt be confeſſed that much may be ſaid againſt the morality of this piece; but it maintains its place on the ſtage by the agreeable ſallies of wit it abounds in, by its ſingulatity, and the ſimplicity of its muſic. The Juſtices of Peace for the County of Middleſex requeſted Garrick, in 1771, to prohibit its repreſentation: but the Engliſh Roſcius did not think it expedient to deprive his theatre of ſo lucrative a piece, eſpecially as he knew that the other companies would repreſent it ſo much the oftener.

Great criminals are not impriſoned in the King's Bench or in the Fleet, which are ſolely appropriated to the confinement of debtors, but in other priſons of which Newgate is the chief. Men are there put in irons, and except this violence which prudence authorizes, they are in no reſpect maltreated. Their friends may come to ſee them, daily, and they are allowed to bring the priſoners any thing that may alle-

viate

viate the melancholy of his ſituation. But there is a vaſt difference between theſe priſons and thoſe of the debtors who can hardly be conſidered as priſoners.

At executions when a number of the unhappy culprit's aſſociates come to witneſs his end, the ſpectators have never greater reaſon to keep a ſtrict watch over their pockets. It is ſaid that one poor wretch when at Tyburn, waiting the dreadful moment, looked up to the tree, and exclaimed: "O, what a noble trade would ours be if it were not for this curſed machine!" 'You fool ſaid another, this machine is the only ſupport of the trade; without this it would be overſtocked, every good-for-nothing fellow would be a highwayman.'

There are alſo certain ſharpers who do not rob but employ all their wits to get poſſeſſion of the wealth of other people. It is neceſſary for rogues of this claſs to be well acquainted with the laws, and they are careful not to paſs the line after which the laws can reach them. They aſſociate together, hire ſuperb houſes, magnificently furniſhed, keep equipages, &c. In private the maſter, the ſervants and the grooms are all on the ſame footing and divide the ſpoil in equal proportions. Of theſe ſharpers I could here enumerate a va-

riety of anecdotes that happened during my reſidence in London; but as all of them quadrate ſo little with the manners and cuſtoms of any other country in Europe, they would probably be conſidered as fables, eſpecially as no traveller has ever mentioned them. I declare however, that what I have hitherto related, can be proved by facts of undoubted authenticity. And if they are true, the inferences will eaſily ſuggeſt themſelves to the mind of a reader who reflects; if he is impartial, I ſubmit to him whether this Work, the fruit of my experience, and diligent obſervation, contains any raſh opinions, or ill founded views of things.

I come now to a ſubject which I am ſorry to ſay is inexhauſtible, I mean the women of the town in London. It is well known how much nature has done for the Engliſh women, but I maintain that the greateſt part of the pretty girls in that metropolis, ſhamefully abuſe the charms ſhe has beſtowed on them. It is computed that there are fifty thouſand common proſtitutes in London. Their cuſtoms and conduct divide them into different claſſes. The loweſt ſort live under the direction of an old bawd who furniſhes them with cloaths. Others live in houſes of their own or in furniſhed lodgings. The uncertainty of the

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payment, makes the proprietors of thoſe houſes, demand double the ordinary rent. Without ſuch lodgers, there would be thouſands of empty houſes in the weſt end of the town. In the pariſh of Mary-le-bone alone, which is indeed the largeſt and moſt populous of any in England, there were thirteen thouſand of theſe inhabitants a few years ago, of whom ſeventeen hnndred occupied entire houſes. Theſe laſt live decently, and without being diſturbed. They are miſtreſſes in their own houſe, and if any of the magiſtrates ſhould think of troubling them, they might ſhew him the door; for paying the ſame taxes with other houſeholders they are entitled to the ſame privileges.

Their houſes are neatly and ſometimes magnificently furniſhed, they have waiting maids, houſe maids, livery ſervants, and ſome of them even keep a carriage. Many of them have annuities, which they have obtained from their feducers, or which they have coaxed out of their lovers in the moment of intoxication. Theſe annuities, it is true, ſecure them from want, but are not always ſufficient to enable them to live as they pleaſe in a capital where every pleaſure is ſo dear: accordingly they receive viſits from particular people, but their door is always ſhut againſt the crowd. The teſti-

mony of theſe nymphs, even of the loweſt among them, is received in courts of juſtice, and this gives them in general a certain pride and principles which it is difficult to reconcile with their courſe of life.

Among thoſe of the higher claſs, a perſon is ſecure of not being robbed; he may even give them his purſe to keep. They think it diſhonourable likewiſe to grant favours to the lovers of their friends. A countryman of mine ſolicited a poor girl of this profeſſion, and offered her a conſiderable reward but in vain. Surprized at her refuſal, he made an Engliſh gentleman aſk her the reaſon; "Sir, ſaid ſhe, I am a poor girl and forced to live by this trade, and Heaven knows how much need I have of money; but it would be diſhonourable to conſent to this gentleman's propoſal. If he were an Engliſhman I might perhaps be prevailed upon, but as he is a foreigner what would he think of us?" At elections for members of parliament theſe girls have been known to refuſe large ſums, and to reſerve their favours for thoſe who could procure votes to the patriots whom they eſteemed. Such virtues take off the ſtigma attached to their profeſſion. I have ſeen well known perſons give them their arm on a public walk. I have even ſeen more than one miniſter plenipotentiary converſing

ſing publicly in Vauxhall gardens with celebrated courtezans. Although their rank requires a certain dignity, which an Engliſh Lord never affects, yet they eaſily conform to the manners of a country, in matters when ſomething is gained on the ſide of liberty.

One of theſe women, named Miſs Fiſher, was famous about five and twenty years ago. She was beautiful, witty, ſpirited and of an amiable vivacity. So many charms were the object of admiration and deſire, to all who poſtponed every other pleaſure of life, to thoſe that are found in the groves of Amathonta. The prieſteſs knew her value, and ſhe exacted an hundred guineas for every night ſpent in her arms. The late Duke of York brother of the preſent King, made one offering at her ſhrine. When he left her in the morning, he gave her a bank note for fifty pounds which was all he had about him. This preſent offended Miſs Fiſher, who ordered her ſervants, before he was out of hearing, to tell him when he called again that ſhe was not at home: and to ſhew the contempt ſhe had for his preſent, ſhe ate the note on her bread and butter to breakfaſt.

The deſcriptions of the multiplied pleaſures of the town, give the country girls the

moſt ardent deſire to partake of them. Imagination inflames their little brains and preſents every object in an exaggerated ſhape. Young perſons of both ſexes, who live at a diſtance, regard the Metropolis as the Mahometans conſider the Paradiſe promiſed them by their prophet. It is not aſtoniſhing then that ſo many young people are daily forming innumerable projects to get at that centre of pleaſure. How eaſily is a young girl without experience tempted by a propoſal of this ſort, made to her by her lover! If there is no other ray of hope left that her parents will conſent to her marriage with him, the inconſiderate creature imagines that ſhe will force them to it by eloping. Thus ſhe arrives in London. This proceeding irritates her parents, they remain deaf to her prayers; her lover grows every day more indifferent, abandons her, leaves her without reſource, alone, unknown in an immenſe city, where art and intrigue every day, exhibit the moſt atrocious ſcenes. Many a ſevere cenſor will perhaps exact that in this deplorable ſituation, and while repentance is yet ſtrong in her mind, ſhe ſhould beg her way back to her father's houſe, or if ſhe had received a proper education, ſhe ſhould go to ſervice. Theſe two reſources are totally wanting in England. The reſpectable profeſſor Moritz, has ſhewn by his own example

that

that journeys on foot, are abſolutely impracticable in that iſland. How could a beautiful girl hazard herſelf alone on the highway! Beſides, a perſon without character or recommendation can never procure ſervice in London. Had ſhe even ſuch an intention, would her creditors allow her the time? Bawds and falſe officers of juſtice are ever on the watch, the moſt infernal ſtratagems are practiſed, and the moſt abominable ſnares are laid for her, till yielding to neceſſity, the poor abandoned creature conſents to her irretrievable undoing.

It will not therefore be ſurpriſing that there ſhould be ſo many women of the town in London, who poſſeſs thoſe virtues we admire in the ſex; youth, beauty, the graces, gentleneſs, education, principles, and even that delightful modeſty which is the moſt powerful attraction to pleaſure. They give us an idea of thoſe celebrated Greek courtezans, who charmed the Athenian heroes, and whom Socrates himſelf honoured with his viſits.

It is to be obſerved that I am here talking only of the higher claſs, for it is rare if not impoſſible to find theſe qualities among the vile proſtitutes whoſe manner of life chokes every ſeed of virtue, if any had ever been ſown in their heart. In every ſeaſon of the

year

year at the approach of night, they ſally from their homes well dreſſed, and every ſtreet and ſquare is crowded with them.

If ſuch abuſes, which are the natural conſequences of luxury and a ſuperabundance of wealth, were to be reformed, the effects would be very pernicious to the trade and commerce of a country like England. If it was reſolved to eſtabliſh at London, as there was at Vienna, a tribunal of chaſtity, that great city would ſoon be depopulated; the natural melancholy of the Engliſh would exceed all bounds; the fine arts in terror, would fly from the country; numberleſs methods of ſubſiſting, which give bread to one half of the inhabitants would be annihilated, and that ſuperb metropolis be changed into a wild and dreary deſert. What is ſaid above ſufficiently juſtifies this concluſion. If more convincing proofs are demanded, let us enter into all the ſhops in the city, and aſk who are their beſt cuſtomers, and thoſe from whom they receive moſt punctual payments? They will anſwer, that theſe unhappy creatures, who deny themſelves every neceſſary of life in order to furniſh their wardrobe, will often expend with them in an inſtant the whole gain of a week. Without them, the public entertainments would be abandoned; not only are they there in crowds themſelves,

ſelves, but multitudes of young perſons go thither only to ſee and to ſpeak to them. All who are acquainted with London will be of my opinion.

The Engliſh women are ſo beautiful, the deſire of being agreeable to them ſo ardent, and general, that unnatural pleaſures are held in great abhorrence with the men. In no country are ſuch infamous pleaſures ſpoken of with greater deteſtation. The laws condemn perſons convicted of them to the pillory, and ſeveral years impriſonment. But in ſuch a caſe a perſon might as well be condemned to the gallows as to the pillory, for the fury of the populace would have no mercy for ſuch a culprit.

The cuſtom of embracing one another, ſo common among the men in other European countries, is for this ſame reaſon diſpleaſing to the Engliſh. A foreigner who ſhould in the open ſtreet conform in this inſtance to the cuſtom of his own country would run a great riſk of being inſulted by the populace. The Engliſh inſtead of embracing, ſhake each other by the hand. This ſhaking, more than once repeated, is expreſſive of the degree of their friendſhip, regard, or eſteem. The common people perform this ſalutation with ſuch good will, the both your hand and

your

arm ſmart for it. If kiſſes are prohibited among the men, they have however the liberty of publicly ſaluting the fair ſex in this manner. Even huſbands do not take this liberty amiſs. Neither jealouſy nor modeſty are offended at it; thus has cuſtom rendered indifferent a practice which, in Italy, would be conſidered as an audacity not to be expiated but by the blood of the offender.

CHAP. X.

CHAP XI

THE Engliſh manner of life is very remarkable. They riſe late, and paſs the greater part of the morning in coffee houſes, or in the public walks. They not only read the news in theſe coffee houſes but tranſact buſineſs there. Aſſociations, ſubſcriptions, inſurances, wagers, bills of exchange, and a variety of other things are carried on in theſe places of public rendezvous. Connections are formed, bargains concluded, intrigues and court cabals carried on, judgements paſſed on works of genius or art, patriotic meaſures are reſolved on *&c. &c.* Different conditions of men have their different coffee houſes, ſuch as courtiers, artiſts, literati, and military men. In the neighbourhood of the Exchange there are ſome hundreds, where more buſineſs is done than in the Exchange itſelf. Lloyd's coffee houſe deſerves particular mention; I dont believe ſuch another exiſts in the whole world. The inſurers, who in the year 1778, amounted to ſix hundred, met here. They put ſix guineas yearly into the public fund, and with the ſum this produces, they hold a correſpondence with all the ports in Europe. This

ſociety

ſociety receives the ſpeedieſt and moſt authentic accounts of all the remarkable events relating to politics or commerce, that happen in the four quarters of the globe. It often communicates to government news that are not tranſmitted for a long time after, by the foreign miniſters or agents. The ſpirit of order and accuracy introduced into this intereſting correſpondence is ſo perfect, that accounts of the moſt extraordinary kind, acquire a certain degree of authenticity, the moment they are promulgated from Lloyd's. As the members of this ſociety participate with the reſt of the nation, that public ſpirit which animates it, they not only make no ſecret of the news they receive, or content themſelves with merely making them known to their friends, but make it a rule to inſert them in a large book, open to every one that frequents the coffee houſe. Hundreds come to tranſcribe verbatim the news of the day; and ſtrangers are ſurprized to ſee the common people turning over this book as if it belonged to them. This republican cuſtom aſtoniſhes no body here. A citizen, whatever may be his condition of life, if he learns by any ſure channel, or even by accident, an important piece of information, haſtens to make it public by inſerting it in this book. For this purpoſe he aſks nobody's permiſſion, and he may even diſpenſe with talk-

ing of it. He takes the book, writes his intelligence, and the way in which he came by it; and there is no inſtance of any body, having deliberately inſerted any falſe account. If from views of intereſt any one ſhould take it into his head to uſe ſuch a ſtratagem, the moſt fatal conſequences to his reputation would undoubtedly reſult from it.

No ſort of trade or commerce connects the members of this ſociety together. Their aſſociation is founded only on ſome ſuperficial arrangements, and on the means of receiving news from abroad, every one tranſacting buſineſs for himſelf, and no one being anſwerable for his neighbour. In order not to grope in the dark, an exact regiſter is kept of every veſſel that enters the Engliſh ports, and they know all the particulars concerning them.

Beſides this ſociety of inſurers there are others who trade in common, and intruſt their joint affairs to the management of the moſt intelligent among them, which by giving more room for confidence, adds to the ſecurity. None however can be entitled to more confidence, than that I mentioned firſt, which being compoſed only of rich merchants, or of ſuch as are in eaſy circumſtances, can fail only by a total bank-

ruptcy. They are ſo well known for the juſtice and integrity of their proceedings, and their reputation is ſo well eſtabliſhed, that foreign nations ſometimes ſubmit doubtful caſes to their deciſion. It ſeems extraordinary to us, that theſe ſocieties ſhould enſure every thing that is valuable, even a man's life, that of his friends, houſes, churches, ſituated in the moſt diſtant corner of England, that are in no way under their inſpection or power.

An Engliſh coffee houſe is quite different from a French or German one. In the former, there are neither billiards nor gaming tables; no noiſe is made, every body ſpeaks low, that he may not diſturb his neighbour. People go to them chiefly for the purpoſe of reading the papers, an occupation which in England is one of the neceſſaries of life. The beſt frequented coffee houſes take in ten or twelve copies of the ſame paper not to make perſons wait, together with the beſt periodical publications. The papers are bound up in large folios at the end of the year, and carefully kept, as they always find readers. It is cuſtomary for each individual to chuſe the coffee houſe he thinks moſt convenient for him; though he ſometimes viſits others, it is always his duty to give the preference to his own as there are often great advantages to be derived

rived from it. He is treated there as if he belonged to the houſe, he may uſe the ſame freedom as if he were at home; people are appointed to meet him there, and letters addreſſed to him.

All the inhabitants of London do not dine at the ſame hour. Tradeſmen dine at one o'clock; merchants and people of middling rank at three; the nobility at four or five. This cuſtom which prolongs the morning, and gives time for looking after ones affairs is very convenient. After dinner, if a perſon does not feel himſelf diſpoſed to return to buſineſs, he can give himſelf up to the pleaſures of ſociety, and of the moment. The Engliſh repaſts like all their domeſtic cuſtoms have ſomething particular in them. If you imagine to yourſelf the contrary of what happens in Paris, you will have a juſt idea of the domeſtic cuſtoms of every houſe in London where the old Engliſh manners are ſtill maintained. The number of great houſes that have adopted the Anglo-French faſhions is ſtill very ſmall.

It is abſolutely neceſſary for travellers to conform themſelves to the manner of life practiſed in the country they are in. Diſeaſes and even death, are the conſequences of an obſtinate adherence to that they them-

ſelves have been accuſtomed to, of which many inſtances might be brought. The Eaſt Indies has been the tomb of thouſands of Europeans, becauſe they wiſhed to live there as they did at home. Had this inconſiderate caprice been reſiſted, the great journey to Arabia would have ſucceeded, and Niebuhr would not have returned alone. A thick air, and ſolid food, make the uſe of ſtrong liquors neceſſary in England, and perſons that would drink nothing but water there, might ſoon repent it. The ſame conſequences would follow the Engliſh regimen if adopted in Italy; the burning heat of that country requires the frequent uſe of cool and refreſhing beverages as well as a difference in cloathing; in ſhort a mode of life altogether different. It is uſual enough to ſee travellers blaming the climate for the fatal conſequences of their own unjuſtifiable negligence.

England ſurpaſſes all the other nations of Europe in the luxury of dreſs and apparel, and this luxury is increaſing daily. Twenty years ago, neither gold nor ſilver were to be ſeen on a coat, except at court or the theatre. Perſons in dreſs went in carriages; on foot they never wore ſwords, and the petit maitres put on their hats. This laſt cuſtom remains, but all the reſt are changed. Even the common people have em-

broidered

broidered veſts. Every body in ſummer as well as in winter wears a plain coat but of the fineſt cloth; no tradeſman will wear any thing elſe. No furs are uſed, but great ſurtouts which protect from the rain in ſummer, and the cold in winter. In this ſimple dreſs, do the firſt miniſters of ſtate walk the ſtreets of London, without being followed by a ſingle ſervant. Many people do not allow their ſhoes to be cleaned in the houſe but in the open ſtreet. The ſhoe-blacks of London earn a deal of money. They are ſeen at the corners of every ſtreet amidſt a heap of ſhoes brought to them from the houſes in the neighbourhood. Nobody, even among the common people, wears a turned coat, or a ſoled ſhoe. Shirts of the fineſt linen are generally worn, and even the lower ſort have a clean one every day. The cleanlineſs of the Engliſh in every thing is admirable. Fine linnen, clean ſtockings, a neat hat and good ſhoes diſtinguiſh the men of eaſy circumſtances. The coat is not ſo much obſerved. This is generally the dreſs of the rich citizens, who go to 'Change ſometimes in threadbare coats. The cuſtom of wearing fanciful buttons, has encreaſed very much within theſe few years, ſo that a plain frock will ſometimes coſt as much as a laced coat. Young people of quality get them by dozens. Linen warehouſes of every

kind, are diſperſed over every other quarter of the town; but thoſe of ſhoes and furniture are fixed in particular diſtricts. The quantity of ready made goods alone is aſtoniſhing; you would think there was ſufficient to furniſh a whole city, and yet no great houſe goes thither to purchaſe, but applies to ſome faſhionable broker who charges an advanced price. I have already taken notice of the extravagance in the dreſs of the women.

The Engliſh have adopted the cuſtom of dreſſing their hair almoſt againſt their will; and accordingly their friſeurs are the moſt unſkilful of any in Europe. They perform as in France, the office of barber and hair-dreſſer, and they are equally aukward at both.

I have had more than one opportunity to remark, that the great characteriſtic differences between the people of England and the other nations of Europe, ariſe from that freedom, which the former enjoy; and which gives occaſion to many ſingular and extraordinary cuſtoms. It is not therefore by our meaſures that we are to calculate the diſtance that ſeparates the different claſſes of that republican monarchy. This obſervation extends even to menial ſervants. The firſt citizen dare not ſtrike

his

his domeſtics, for they can ſue him for ill uſage, or defend themſelves againſt him. In the firſt caſe, a pecuniary fine, and many other diſagreable circumſtances, are always the conſequence. The Engliſh juſtly think that, as poverty and dependance are none of the comforts of life, it would be cruel to aggravate the hard fate of thoſe who are born in ſuch circumſtances, by a ſubmiſſion which the laws do not authoriſe. If a domeſtic is in fault, the maſter can only diſmiſs him, except the fault is puniſhable by law. To give harſh names would only expoſe him to a return of the ſame kind, which are the leſs tolerable as they are not actionable; except when they affect his honour or reputation. All other injurious expreſſions, however provoking or humiliating, cannot be redreſſed by any court.

It would be a miſtake to imagine from hence, that Engliſh ſervants have a right to inſult their maſters. I am on the contrary convinced, that in all Europe there are not better domeſtics than in England. The generous condeſcenſion with which they are treated, the fear of not receiving a favourable character if they commit great faults (a thing of ſuch importance to them) and their great wages keep them attentive, and inſpire them with great zeal and activity.

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The politeneſs and activity with which you are ſerved in coffee houſes and taverns is aſtoniſhing, and ſeems a ſtriking contraſt to the national pride. But the waiters there depend on certain gratifications which amount to a conſiderable ſum at the years end. Many of them indeed receive neither wages nor board. In the principal taverns, the place of firſt waiter is purchaſed from the maſter of the houſe ſometimes for two or three hundred pounds or more. In gaming houſes where people of quality meet to play at games of hazard, it is common for the firſt waiter to pay five hundred pounds a year, and the ſecond three for their places, becauſe they produce a revenue of twelve or fifteen hundred pounds a-year, and put the perſons in a way, after a few years ſervice, of ſetting up a tavern on their own account.

It is cuſtomary in all the great houſes to give their ſervants board wages; but in other houſes their victuals are provided for them. The rule obſerved in this caſe is very ſingular. They receive the diſhes immediately on their being removed from the table of their maſters; and none are ever put aſide, till the ſervants have dined. If every ones meal was portioned out to them, they would not touch it, however ample it might be, and they would immediately

diately demand their diſmiſſion. They muſt have the abſolute choice of all the diſhes that were ſerved up to their maſter, without exception of number or quality. This of all Engliſh cuſtoms is the moſt diſagreeable to the families of foreigners who come to ſettle among them, being too oppoſite to their own principles of economy, and diminiſhing too much the diſtance between them and their ſervants. This approach of the different claſſes of citizens to one another, which ariſes from the ſentiment of natural equality, and is encouraged by the laws, is even obſervable among the loweſt of the people, who might ſometimes be ſuppoſed to exalt themſelves over thoſe who do not live ſo well as they do. The proof of this I ſhall take from the claſs of the groſſeſt and moſt ſavage of men who are more accuſtomed to live with horſes than with reaſonable beings. It never comes into the head of the ſplendid and well fed coachman of a Duke, to think himſelf above the driver of a miſerable hackeny coach that plies night and day on the ſtreets of London. He treats him as his equal, and without knowing him, he will deſcend from his ſeat to do him a ſervice, he will turn his carriage aſide to let him paſs. In Paris on the contrary, ſuch a fellow would ſtrike a hackney coachman acroſs the face with his whip, and the poor

wretch

wretch, who looks up with reſpect to a being of ſuch importance, dare not complain.

The King of England himſelf, gave a remarkable example of this kind in 1784. Without other attendants than ſome of his ſons, he was walking about Richmond, where he met with a poor peaſant who was driving a cart with proviſions up to town. The cart fell into a ditch, and could not be got out without help; it was early in the morning, the road was deſert, and the peaſant in the greateſt diſtreſs. Without a moment's deliberation, the monarch aſſiſted by his ſons, ſet his hands to the work, and extricated the peaſant from his embarraſſment. The poor man who did not know the perſons who had ſo kindly aſſiſted him, propoſed in the gratitude of his heart to carry them in his cart to the neareſt alehouſe, and to regale them with a pot of beer. His gratitude was rewarded with a few pieces of gold, and they left him to recover from his aſtoniſhment.

When multitudes are aſſembled in the ſtreets on occaſion of any public ſolemnity, the greateſt attention is paid to children and little people; room is made for them, and ſometimes they are held up that they may ſee the better. A reſpectable lady the wife of.

a German miniſter at the court of London, coming out from ſome of the public entertainments, was preſſed into the thickeſt of the crowd. She felt the danger of her ſituation the more, as ſhe was then with child. She was juſt about to fall into a faint, when the perſon who held her hand cried out, "Gentlemen, I beg you will make way for this lady who is with child, and is taken ill." She has aſſured me herſelf that thunder could not have ſeparated the crowd more quickly than this exclamation.

The Engliſh formerly practiſed duelling like other nations, but the cuſtom was aboliſhed under the government of the Puritans. Theſe enthuſiaſts, who acknowledged no rule of conduct that could not be drawn from the Bible, took an abhorence at theſe barbarous combats. At laſt Cromwell, having enacted the ſevereſt laws againſt duelling, aboliſhed them entirely. This was one happy effect produced by fanaticiſm. Duels however have for theſe fifty years paſt grown more in vogue ſince the decline of the practice of boxing.

The Engliſh make frequent uſe of the cold bath. There are great numbers of them in London, where for a guinea a year, perſons may bathe every day. Theſe baths are much preſcribed by the Engliſh phyſicians.

phyſicians. The ancient Romans were fond of them. They were preſcribed by Anthony Muſa, and the cure they performed was rewarded by the ſenate who cauſed a ſtatue of the phyſician to be erected beſide that of Eſculapius. Lampridius informs us, that the Emperor Septimius Severus made daily uſe of them. It is even probable, after the long ſtay he made in Britain, that they were at that time introduced into that country. From England they paſſed into Saxony, where the hot baths, although very ſalutary, are ſtill leſs in repute.

England poſſeſſes a great many natural baths and mineral ſprings, ſome of which retain the names of the Saints that were formerly given them. They were uſed as natural means when religion took them under its protection. The fountains or ſprings where the firſt preachers of Chriſtianity baptized their converts, inſpired them with a certain religious veneration, and were conſidered as holy. The monks turned this prejudice to their advantage, and aſcribed in their legends, certain miraculous virtues to theſe ſprings, undoubtedly after having diſcovered their natural effects. Of

Of all the mineral ſprings in England, thoſe of the town of Bath are the moſt remarkable. They were diſcovered in the time of the Romans, who conſecrated them to Minerva. Accordingly the antient Britons called them the *Eaer Palladdur*; the town of the ſprings of Pallas. Their water is warm. Bath is a very beautiful town and the public edifices that adorn it are ſuperb. It is the rendezvous not only of the ſick, but of perſons in health whom the variety of pleaſures to be found there, attracts from all corners of the kingdom. The moſt brilliant ſeaſon of theſe baths, which are undoubtedly the moſt frequented of any in Europe, is from the beginning of winter to the meeting of parliament. To regulate theſe diverſions, and to preſerve order among ſuch a multitude of rich and and free people, it has been thought adviſeable to chuſe an individual under the tittle of King of Bath, to whom implicit obedience is paid in every thing that relates to the economy of the place. This agreement has been made, and ſigned by the chief perſons of the kingdom who go thither regularly, and maintain their monarch in the exerciſe of his prerogatives. This place is as honourable as lucrative, for it is worth ſixteen hundred pounds a year. It is given for life, unleſs very weighty reaſons oblige them to dethrone their ſovereign. It

is given only to a perſon who unites experience and wit with the gaiety of a man of faſhion. All theſe qualities, joined to an uncommon talent for inventing new pleaſures, and conducting entertainments, were united in the celebrated Beau Naſh, who was for many years King of Bath. He died in 1761, and the place is at preſent held by a military gentleman who has retired.

CHAP. XII.

CHAP. XII.

Of all the remarkable things to be found in this island none are ſo worthy of admiration as the beauty of the women. It is ſo eminent that no foreigner can heſitate to own the ſuperiority of the Engliſh ladies for beauty, over the women of every other country. The moſt perfect ſymmetry, an elegant ſhape, a beautiful neck, a delicate ſkin, and the ſweeeteſt and moſt regular features, diſtinguiſh their perſons. Their moral character renders them ſuſceptible of all the enjoyments and felicity of the married ſtate. The natural tendency of the whole nation to melancholy makes the women ſerious and grave; they are leſs engaged in pleaſure, than in attention to their huſbands, and the cares of their family. Women of quality often ſuckle their own children; they do not conſider the name nor the duties of a mother diſgraceful, and they little value the loſs of ſome charms in compariſon with the ſweets of maternal tenderneſs, and the agreeable conſequences that reſult from them. In the midſt of outrages which are often carried to extremities in that great city, it is rare to ſee a married woman the object of cor-

ruption, or partaking in its infamous pleaſures. She finds an unſurmountable defence in the love of her family, in her domeſtic economy, and her natural ſobriety. I maintain that there is not a place in the whole world, where the honour of a husband is more ſecure than it is in London.

It is to this ſerious and ſettled temper of the Engliſh women that we muſt attribute the inclination of many young perſons of the Roman Catholic religion for a cloiſtered life, which carries many of them to France, and particularly to Flanders, where there are foundations inſtituted chiefly for them.

I have already ſpoken of the zeal with which the Engliſh intereſt themſelves in public affairs. This taſte gives an additional ſtrength to the bonds of matrimony. A husband who cares for nothing but politics, is always ſure of finding in his wife a perſon with whom he can converſe on the ſubjects that intereſt him moſt deeply. He has no occaſion to go abroad in order to gratify his prevailing paſſion.

Nature is prodigal to the Engliſh of her moſt valuable gifts, and they are not ungrateful; they turn them all to their advantage

tage by a moderate uſe of them. Infants are not confined in ſwaddling cloaths, they are dreſſed in a thin covering, which leaves every limb at liberty, and this is continued till the years of infancy are over. Stays are unknown, they only uſe ſome ſlender whale bones, to give the body a ſhape without conſtraining it. The benefits of inoculation are daily more and more felt. The houſes of education for young people of both ſexes, are almoſt all in the country in the neighbourhood of London. In paſſing through the pleaſant villages that ſurround the metropolis, one is enchanted with meeting ſometimes three or four houſes at a little diſtance from one another, deſtined to this uſe. One of theſe houſes is often ſufficient to give bread to the maſters of the different branches of education.

The Engliſh women relying perhaps too much an their native beauty, often neglect the arts of ſetting it off. There are few, even of the women of the town, who uſe paint. Many women in full dreſs put no powder in their hair; but cleanlineſs which is, ſo to ſpeak, a real paſſion with the Engliſh, is an attraction which they take care not to neglect. It has however introduced a cuſtom as ſingular as diſagreeable, and which is unknown every where elſe but in

London. The women of the middle rank, when it is dirty weather, fix on their feet certain circles of iron, which raiſe them above the dirt, and are tied to their ſhoes with latchets, ſo that they are not wetted. The cuſtom of wearing ſhoes only of ſilk or cloth, (for a common ſervant will not put on a leather ſhoe,) has undoubtedly given occaſion to theſe ſtrange machines which they put off at the door, when they enter a houſe, and which beſides their unavoidable inconvenience, have beſides the diſadvantage of producing an aukward and diſagreeable gait.

The moſt elegant part of the dreſs of an Engliſh lady is her hat which is commonly adorned with ribbands and feathers. No woman of whatever condition can appear on foot in the ſtreets of London without a hat, even the beggars pique themſelves upon having one. The art with which they put it on is very imperfectly imitated by foreign ladies, who are far from underſtanding or drawing from it all its magic advantages. This made Linguet ſay, that if Homer had been acquainted with this inchanting article of dreſs, he would, beſides the ceſtus, have given an Engliſh hat to his Venus.

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The Engliſh ladies are remarkable for many peculiar cuſtoms, and among others that of riding on horſeback. In fine weather, hundreds are to be ſeen on all the roads. They are dreſſed in the habit of an Amazon. This cuſtom which was introduced by Anne, the queen of Richard II. has remained to our days. They do not think it decent to be ſeen at a window, and nothing but ſome extraordinary ſhew will bring them to it. The women of the town deſpiſe this prejudice.

The education of the Engliſh youth with regard to corporeal advantages is perfect. I cannot ſay ſo much for the mental. The abuſes which prevail in the public ſchools are well known, and I ſhall not dwell upon them. The ſtudents in the univerſities lead a truly monkiſh life; it might even have conſequences fatal to the ſtate, if travelling did not give them a more uſeful direction. After much has been written in England on the dangers and advantages of a public and a private education, the former ſeems to be adopted. The young duke of Bedford, the richeſt nobleman of the kingdom, was a few years ago at Weſtminiſter ſchool, where he was educated, exactly like the other boys. He had neither finer cloaths nor a better bed. Two guineas a-week were given him for pocket money;

and

and of his revenues which amount to upwards of ſixty thouſand pounds, five hundred only were expended on his education. All thoſe exerciſes which tend to put the muſcles in motion, and to form a ſound and robuſt body, are the daily recreations in theſe ſchools, which notwithſtanding their numerous faults, never infect the youth with a delicate body, or an effeminate mind. In theſe ſeminaries are often formed connections, among boys of the moſt unequal birth, that laſt for life, and are the origin of the future fortunes of one of the parties.

A great number of children of rank are deſtined from their earlieſt years to trade, and educated accordingly. This wiſe cuſtom, the ſource of the opulence of the Genoeſe nobility, and which raiſed the houſe of Medici to the throne, for the good of mankind, was not introduced into England till towards the end of the ſeventeenth century. It was a conſequence of the civil wars. The Engliſh nobility almoſt entirely attached to the party of the King, being removed from all employment, whether civil or military, by the Houſe of Commons, who were then the preponderating party, and being inclined to indemnify themſelves, formed the reſolution of applying to commerce; the moſt experienced amaſſed great wealth, and all

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contributed by their example to root out the antient prejudices againſt trade. The firſt people of the kingdom ſoon became the moſt zealous partizans of commerce, and dedicated a part of their fortune to give it reſpect and activity. It may be affirmed that this happy policy was the circumſtance that in ſo ſhort a time has carried England to an uncommon pitch of opulence and ſplendor. The great deſtine their children to a ſtate which procures them conſideration and wealth. We have ſeen in our days a ſon of Sir Robert Walpole a banker in London. Another ſon of the earl of Bute formerly ſo powerful, going to the Eaſt Indies in quality of a writer. But it would be wrong to infer that this cuſtom extends to handicrafts; for an artificer, however wealthy he may be, enjoys only a ſmall degree of conſideration, and cannot aſpire to any poſt of honour, far leſs to a ſeat in parliament.

It is only from whim that a perſon of quality ever engages in ſuch enterprizes. I ſhall juſt mention the inſtance of Wortley Montague brother in law to the earl of Bute, who when a boy, eloped from the palace of his father, and became a chimney-ſweep. The rags which covered him, the wretched food, and the blows he daily received, were more agreeable to him than the gentleſt

treatment, and all the indulgencies he was entitled to by birth. He lived nine months in London undiſcovered, and in the occupation of a chimney ſweep. He was at laſt found out, and brought back to his father's houſe, where every thing was tried to cure him of this unhappy mental malady, but in vain. He ran off again, and went as cabbin boy on board a veſſel bound for Liſbon, and afterwards travelled over Spain in capacity of a mule driver. But this is not the place for entring further into his hiſtory. The life of this ſingular character who, died a few years ago in the eaſt, is one of the moſt diſmal examples of the excentricities incident to the human mind. Such ourtree actions are ſo frequent in England, that there is a particular word in the language to expreſs them by. The word is whim, and the perſon who commits them often, is called a whimſical man. Perſons of this kind would be thought mad in any other country; but the national liberty authoriſes every ſingularity whatever, provided it is innocent, and hurtful to nobody. The hiſtory of one oddity is ſucceeded by another, and people only ſhrug up their ſhoulders, and laugh. I might cite here a multitude of inſtances, which would ſerve to explain the ſecret workings of the human heart, but this would lead me too far from my ſubject; it is the general character only of the Engliſh

liſh, which I attempt to ſketch, and I ſhall therefore content myſelf with relating but a few.

In 1776, there died in London a certain perſon who had accumulated by trade a fortune of L.60,000. He made a relation of his who was not a trader, his ſole heir, on this ſingular condition, that he ſhould every day go to 'Change, and remain there from two to three o'clock. Neither bad weather nor other buſineſs was to prevent him from regular attendance; ſickneſs alone could excuſe him, and if this was not fully proved, and he ſhould neglect to fulfill the condition for a ſingle day, the whole fortune was to paſs from him to certain charitable foundations, which were then entitled to claim it. The good man intended to do honour to the Exchange in which he had made his money; but his fancy made a ſlave of the heir. He never could leave London but on Sundays when there is no 'Change. I was acquainted with him, and have been a witneſs of his diſcontent. He could not take the ſhorteſt excurſion without arranging his matters in ſuch a way, as not to miſs the hour of 'Change. He lived at the weſt end of the town, about a league from the Exchange; where after having daily ſpent an hour without ſpeaking to any body, he got into his carriage and went

home

home. The conditional legatees, who were interested in his exactness, had him very narrowly watched.

An English nobleman somewhat aged, and a widower, took it into his head one night when he was troubled with a fit of insomnolency in the country, to take another wife, and even to marry the first single woman he should meet with in the morning. Full of this ridiculous idea he gets up by break of day and rings the bell. The valet de chambre enters, and is desired to send up one of the women of the house; he accordingly runs, and calls the housekeeper, who had no sooner appeared before his Lordship, than he orders her to dress herself and repair with him, to the church, for he intended to marry her. The housekeeper thinking her master in jest, went away without saying a word. In half an hour the bell is again rung, and the valet asked if the house-keeper is ready; "No, (said the valet,) she is busy with the affairs of the house." 'Go then, said his Lordship, and send me up another.' The valet retires, and meeting with a kitchen wench, sends her to his master. He gives her the same orders the house-keeper had got before, but she, willing to take his Lordship in the humour, did not allow herself to be bidden twice, but dressed herself in

haste

haſte and in an hour after, his kitchen wench became his wife. A perſon who filled the firſt offices in the ſtate, and who is ſtill alive, is the fruit of this ſingular marriage.

But there are ſome infatuated enough to indulge themſelves in extravagances of which the laws take cognizance.

I ſhall take an opportunity, of relating ſome ſingular inſtances of this, which happened during the time of my reſidence in England. There have been perſons (not numerous indeed) who without being in want have had an irriſiſtible propenſity to ſtealing: neither was covetouſneſs concerned in the matter. I myſelf knew a very amiable woman who could not reſiſt putting in her pocket whatever came to her hands in company; ſhe did not fail however next morning to return what ſhe had carried away. A young and handſome girl, of a good family and very rich, had the ſame inclination without the ſame ſenſe of honeſty. When ſhe went a ſhopping ſhe was always ſure to filch more than ſhe bought. A lad in one of the ſhops ſhe frequented, entertained ſtrong ſuſpicions of her, and reſolved to watch her ſtrictly, the firſt opportunity. She returned, and ſecreted a whole piece of Bruſſels lace.

There happened to be nobody but her in the ſhop, and the young man without any ceremony, immediately commenced a ſcrutiny into the contents of her pockets. The lace was detected, and he gave her her choice, either to be denounced for a thief, or to take him for her huſband. She choſe the latter, and the poor lad, in a ſhort time, found himſelf in poſſeſſion of a handſome wife, and twelve thouſand pounds Sterling.

The fate of another robber of this kind was not ſo fortunate. He was called Eyre, a hair merchant, ſixty-ſix years of age, and worth thirty thouſand pounds. He ſtole, from pure covetouſneſs, every thing he could lay his hands on. One day as he was endeavouring to hide under his cloak, two quires of paper, which he had ſeized, he was taken in the fact and tried. So rich a thief, about to be condemned for the value of a ſhilling was really a phenomenon. The court was crowded with people on the day of his trial. The theft was proved, and the ſentence of the judges condemned him to tranſportation to America for ſeven years. This deſpicable being was the juſt victim of his ſordid avarice. His friends, in order to leſſen the inconvenience of the voyage, had made the neceſſary arangements with the captain of the ſhip; they had procured him a cabbin to ſeparate him from

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the other convicts, and bargained for his eating at the captain's table. Scarcely was he at ſea when he grudged the expence of this treatment, and choſe rather to lye on ſtraw with the other criminals than in a good bed which he was obliged to pay for. Such ſordid ideas procured him no compaſſion from his fellow paſſengers; none of them would have any intercourſe with him, and he was treated with general contempt. At laſt, the wretched being ſunk under the weight of years, of infirmities, and of the hardſhips he had brought upon himſelf. He died before he reached America, and his body was thrown into the ſea.

The infamous and criminal conduct of Eyre does not deſerve to be honoured with the name of whim; but that term is juſtly applied to the following trait of Sir Watkins William Wynn. That gentleman, the richeſt individual in the principality of Wales, on the day of his becoming major, gave to the nobility of his neighbourhood, to his tenants, and their families, and their domeſtics of both ſexes, a feaſt which laſted three days, and which was worthy of a ſovereign. The gueſts were in number about eighteen thouſand, and they ate and drank and diverted themſelves all in the open air.

The annals of England, are full of the moſt outrée and romantic accounts. In the the county of Eſſex, there is a conſiderable village; the lord of this place, who died in the 13th century, inſtituted a very ſingular cuſtom, which ſtill ſubſiſts. The cuſtom is this; a flitch of bacon and ſome other proviſions are given to that huſband, who can, at the altar, ſwear that during the year paſt, he has never had any altercation with his wife, and that he has never once repented during that time, of having married her. The chronicles of the place record only the names of three men, who during the long period of three centuries have taken the oath.

But there is no Engliſhman in our day, who made himſelf ſo remarkable for his ſingularities, as the famous Lord Baltimore whoſe whole life was an uninterrupted ſeries of the moſt violent excentricities. But his follies never injured any one: on the contrary they bore the marks of good nature, and benevolence. Almoſt all his rents, which amounted to two and forty thouſand a-year, he drew from Maryland. It was a principle of his to allow himſelf to be guided by his whim; accordingly he never was known to ſolicit thoſe offices and dignities to which his talents and fortune entitled him to aſpire. He never went to

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court. His taſte for women was his predominant paſſion, and his travels to the eaſt ſerved but to encreaſe it. On his return to London, he built, in the weſt end of the town, in the midſt of a charming country, a ſuperb houſe, the model of which he had taken from a celebrated Harem at Conſtantinople. When it was finiſhed, he formed a ſeraglio, and peopled it with a number of fine women, to whom, except the liberty of going abroad, he refuſed nothing. Certain regulations were made, and the ſtricteſt obſervance of them enjoined. The ſervants were old women. Thus Baltimore lived exactly the life of a Bacha. If he grew tired of any of his dames, he diſcharged her with magnificent preſents, and ſometimes he gave her a handſome dowry.

The Engliſh, far from being jealous of the happineſs, which their own liberty and independance procures them, are willing to impart it to every other nation. At the time when Paoli and his brave Corſicans were ſubjected by the arms of France, the whole Engliſh people were unanimous for lending them aid to recover their liberty. But this the ſtate of politics not at that time permitting, the government, to appeaſe their clamours, granted protection and a penſion to the Corſican general, which he ſtill enjoys.

In the number of characteriſtic traits of the Engliſh nation, I muſt mention ballad-ſinging in the ſtreets. This is, it is true, the cuſtom in other countries, but not publicly. The ſubject of theſe ſongs is often of a political nature, or a ſatyr on the higheſt members of adminiſtration, and their meaſures; but ſuch is the liberty of the Preſs in Britain, that no interruption is given to theſe, or to any other printed performances, provided they do not attack the eſtabliſhed religion, the conſtitution, or good morals.

In other countries the common people imitate the great; hereon the contrary they affect to diſtinguiſh themſelves by every means in their power from thoſe in high life. A rich tradeſman thinks he has a right to live agreeably to his own taſte, however different that may be from the taſte of every other perſon. Such originals have got the name of JOHN BULL. This character is often introduced on the Engliſh ſtage, and the common people are never better pleaſed than to ſee him repreſented in his roughеſt and moſt unpoliſhed independant ſtate.

After having read the foregoing Work I think it will be impoſſible to miſunderſtand the nature of Engliſh liberty; but let me

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be allowed a ſingle obſervation on the government. The balance of the three powers which have in their hands the legiſlative authority is truly admirable. The King, the Houſes of Peers and Commons, are three independant powers, each enjoying its own privileges and peculiar rights, and mutually attending with zealous anxiety that none increaſe the one or infringe the other. The King is the ſource of honour and dignities, but he can neither make nor ſuſpend the moſt inconſiderable law; his preponderance in the ſyſtem, is only ſeeming, not real. The Houſe of Peers, beſides its ſhare in the legiſlative power, is alſo the Court of dernier reſort; and it is on this account that the twelve judges of the kingdom, though not members of Parliament and who never ſpeak but upon queſtions of law, and that only when their opinions are aſked, have a ſeat in it. The privilege of the Houſe of Commons conſiſts in having exclufively the key of the national treaſure. Now as money is the prime mover in all things, this laſt body yields in nothing to the others. The Houſe of Commons has alſo a right to impeach ſtate criminals even thoſe that belong to the other houſe. Such a criminal, though a miniſter, protected by the King, and by all the Peers of the kingdom, would be ſent to the Tower, would be tried, would if guilty be condemned, and

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is more, though the King can pardon all other criminals, yet has he not the power of extending his mercy to a man who is impeached.

The ſtate of the arts and ſciences in England, is well known to my countrymen, but I may be allowed to make a ſingle reflection. The baſis of every literary ſociety there is liberty; that liberty which they have always before them, and which they never ſuffer to be infringed.

It is known too that in England, diſtinguiſhed merit of every kind is a ſure paſſport to honours and dignities. Services rendered to the nation are always moſt liberally rewarded. Inſtances of this are too numerous to be here detailed.

Great Britain has no fortifications, for this name cannot be given to a few ramparts and baſtions erected at ſome of the ports. An Engliſhman who has never been out of his own country, has no proper idea of a fort. The ſea and thoſe floating-batteries, which ſwim on its ſurface, are the only bulwarks of England; and theſe alone, for many a century, have proved ſufficient to defeat all the attempts of its enemies. If it were poſſible with any proſpect of ſucceſs to effect an invaſion, ſuch an enterprize

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would have been undertaken during the American war, when the Engliſh fleet, diſperſed over the four quarters of the globe, left the Channel free to the attempts of the French. But notwithſtanding the immenſe preparations made with that deſign, the enemy were wiſe enough to decline the attempt. Much greater preparations however had been made in 1761, under the adminiſtration of the Duc de Choiſeul. Six thouſand flat-bottomed boats were ready, the beſt place for an invaſion pitched on, and every precaution taken to inſure ſucceſs. But one M'Alliſter an Iriſhman, having communicated the particulars of the plan to the Engliſh miniſtry, ſuch meaſures were adopted to give the French a ſuitable reception, that they did not think proper to purſue their deſign.

The perfection of the marine of England cannot be conceived but by perſons, who, knowing the ſtate of that of other nations, can judge of it by compariſon. It is only from their ſhips of war, that a perfect idea can be formed of the wealth of the Britiſh nation. Theſe are for the moſt part beautiful and magnificent, and in a peculiar degree commodious. On board there is abundance of every thing, unknown in the ſhips of other nations, and a number of minute conveniences, which others imperfectly imitate, or totally want.

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The ſubordination which prevails in a ſhip of war, ſurpaſſes even that of the Pruſſian army. The firſt lieutenant, the ſecond perſon on board never approaches his captain, but with marks of the moſt profound reſpect, and the orders of the latter are moſt implicitly obeyed.

Thus, I have given a ſketch of that famous iſland of which Boſſuet ſaid, that there was more motion on its ſurface, and in its ports, than in the ocean that ſurrounds it. And the truth of this ſaying, uttered an hundred years ago, is at this day confirmed. Liberty, that ineſtimable bleſſing is and has always been the ſource of thoſe heroic and ſublime actions which excite our admiration. Long before the nation had acquired its Great Charter, Alfred, one of its firſt princes, left theſe remarkable words in his will, "The Engliſh ought to be free as their thoughts." Never did people abhor deſpotiſm ſo much as theſe iſlanders, nor ever did a nation enjoy, for ſo long a time, ſo much ſocial and political proſperity. There is no inſtance in hiſtory of ſo many millions of men living in ſociety, and enjoying to ſuch an extent ſuch a ſhare of rational liberty and ſecurity. It is only in that happy iſland that the higheſt degree of cultivation, the moſt accumulated wealth, eaſe, luxury, and pleaſure have not

produced their common conſequences. But ſhould it ever be their fate to alter or infringe their moſt valuable conſtitution, the guardian and preſerver of all their rights, then will that mighty empire fall like ancient Rome, a prey to anarchy, bloodſhed and tyranny.

FINIS.

DIRECTION TO THE BINDER.

Signature X is double; the catch-word of the first, is "THAT."

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